

The University of Chicago

**MOLIERE AND TERENCE, A STUDY IN
MOLIERE'S REALISM**

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

By

KATHERINE ERNESTINE WHEATLEY

The University of Texas Press
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The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.

Sam Houston

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of Democracy, and while guided and controlled by virtue, the noblest attribute of man. It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge, and the only security which freemen desire.

Mirabeau B. Lamar



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PREFACE

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor W. A. Nitze of the University of Chicago, whose guidance and help during the preparation of this study have been invaluable. My sincere thanks go also to Miss Hilda Norman of the University of Chicago for her kindness in reading the first draft and for her many helpful suggestions for revision.

KATHERINE E. WHEATLEY.

INTRODUCTION

Molière's contemporaries recognized Terence's *Phormio* as the source of *les Fourberies de Scapin* and the *Adelphoe* as the most important model of *l'Ecole des maris*. Every one knows that Boileau censured his friend for allying Terence with Tabarin in *les Fourberies de Scapin*.¹

Molière's enemies apparently saw in *l'Ecole des maris* a copy of the *Adelphoe*. We have Grimarest's word for it: "Je ne vois pas, disoit un Auteur Contemporain, qui ne réussissoit point, où est le mérite de l'avoir fait; ce sont les *Adelphes* de Térence; il est aisé de travailler en y mettant si peu du sien, et c'est se donner de la réputation à peu de frais."² But it is very likely that Molière himself did not deny his debt to Terence. The preface of 1682 tells us that he preferred Terence to all the other poets and chose him as his model:

L'inclination qu'il avoit pour la Poésie le fit s'appliquer à lire les poètes avec un soin tout particulier: il les possédoit parfaitement, et surout Térence; il l'avoit choisi comme le plus excellent modèle qu'il eût à se proposer, et jamais personne ne l'imita si bien qu'il a fait.³

This preface, written by La Grange, a friend of Molière's and a member of his troupe, is one of our two reliable sources of information about the playwright. Although Molière is indebted to Plautus for two of his important plays, he must have professed his preference for Terence and acknowledged his imitation. One cannot lightly dismiss the testimony of a contemporary of Molière as closely associated with him as was La Grange.⁴ Yet the trend of French criticism has been to minimize the Terentian influence on Molière, especially in *l'Ecole des maris*. Despois⁵ and Moland⁶ have pointed out, in their editions of Molière, the more obvious verbal reminiscences of the *Adelphoe* occurring in *l'Ecole des*

¹N. Boileau, "Art poétique," *Oeuvres* (Paris: Jacques Bainville, 1928), I, 269.

²*La Vie de M. de Molière* (Paris, 1877), p. 24.

³Molière, *Oeuvres* (Grands Ecrivains de la France ed., Paris: Hachette and Co., 1873-1900) I, xiii.

⁴It is likely that Molière was one of the partisans of Terence to whom Racine refers in the preface to *Bérénice*; Nous voyons enfin que les partisans de Térence, qui l'élèvent avec raison au-dessus de tous les poètes comiques, pour l'élégance de sa diction et pour la vraisemblance de ses mœurs ne laissent pas de confesser que Plaute a un grand avantage sur lui par la simplicité qui est dans la plupart des sujets de Plaute. *Oeuvres* (Grands Ecrivains de la France ed.; Paris, 1886), II, 376-77.

⁵Paris: Hachette, 1873-1900.

⁶Paris: Garnier Frères, 1875-1884.

maris, but they attach little significance to the Terentian influence. Since the appearance of their editions, two different plays have been brought forward as sources of material that had been, albeit grudgingly, attributed to Terence. Guido Wenzel⁷ suggested that Molière took the fundamental idea of *l'Ecole des maris*, the contrast of two systems of education, from Larivey's *les Esprits*, a play which Despois⁸ mentions but does not consider important. M. Martinenche thinks that Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza's *El marido hace mujer* is the source not only of the contrasting systems of education and the characters of the two brothers, but of much of the intrigue as well. He denies any Terentian influence at all.⁹ M. Michaut accepts his conclusions with slight reservations.¹⁰ Only by a detailed comparison of *l'Ecole des maris* with suggested sources can the question of Terentian influence in this play be settled. Thus far no one has made such a comparison.

The question of the relation of *les Fourberies de Scapin* to Terence's *Phormio* has not been complicated by conflicting sources. The *Phormio* is recognized as the chief source of the plot of *les Fourberies de Scapin*. Despois-Mesnard and Moland have pointed out the most important imitations of detail. Claas Humbert has compared the two plays but he is concerned only with corresponding characters.¹¹ He does not deal with plot or imitations of detail.

In an article on Molière and Roman comedy, R. Mahrenholtz follows the same plan as Humbert in discussing the relation of *l'Ecole des maris* to the *Adelphoe* and of *les Fourberies* to *Phormio*.¹²

Terence's influence on Molière, then, has not been adequately studied. The preface of 1682 indicates an affinity between the two authors which subsequent criticism has failed to recognize. While *Phormio* is considered the chief source of *les Fourberies*, no one has made a detailed analysis and comparison of the two plays. The Terentian influence in *l'Ecole des maris* has been waved aside as insignificant as compared with that of Mendoza; but the partisans of Mendoza have not weighed his contribution in the

⁷"Pierre de Lariveys Komödien und ihr Einfluss auf Molière," Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LXXXII (1889), 63-80.

⁸Molière, *Oeuvres*, Hachette ed., II, 340.

⁹"Les Sources de l'Ecole des maris," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, V (1898), 110-116.

¹⁰*Les Débuts de Molière à Paris* (Paris, 1923), p. 120.

¹¹"Le Phormion de Térence et les Fourberies de Scapin de Molière," *Realschule Prog.* (Elberfeld, Aug. 26, 27, 1859).

¹²Molière and die Römische Komödie," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LVI, (1876), 241-264.

balance against that of Terence. If Molière chose Terence as the best of models, as the preface of 1682 tells us that he did, he certainly knew the *De Tragoedia ac comoedia* of Aelius Donatus and the commentaries on Terence ascribed to Donatus. Donatus's theory of comedy as applied to the practice of Terence, must have influenced Molière's conception of the genre. And yet it has not occurred to any one to compare Molière's poetic, as expressed in *la Critique de l'Ecole des femmes*, with the doctrine of Donatus.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate anew the Terentian influence in *les Fourberies de Scapin* and *l'Ecole des maris* by a more detailed comparison of these plays with their sources than has been heretofore attempted and to set forth the relation of Molière's theory of comedy to that of Donatus.

I have arranged the three chapters in the order of their importance. While Molière borrowed freely from *Phormio* for *les Fourberies de Scapin*, the nature of the influence shows no such kinship between Molière and Terence as the preface of 1682 indicates. On the other hand, not only is the *Adelphoe* the most important source of *l'Ecole des maris* as regards imitations of detail, but this play exerted a profound and lasting influence on Molière's conception of character and upon the technique of his more serious plays. A comparison of *la Critique de l'Ecole des femmes* with Donatus's doctrine and his interpretation of Terence shows that Molière's theory of comedy conforms rather closely to that of Terence as formulated by Donatus.

CHAPTER I

Phormio and les Fourberies de Scapin

Molière derived the plot of *les Fourberies de Scapin* from Terence's *Phormio*. It has long been known that Molière imitated Terence in this play.¹ Despois-Mesnard² and Moland³ have indicated those scenes of Terence which Molière imitated and most of the verbal echoes of *Phormio* in *les Fourberies de Scapin*.

Molière has incorporated in his play several scenes taken from other sources. These sources also have been pointed out by the editors. There are no conflicting sources. The only dispute concerning the plays has been on the question of whether Molière has improved on Terence's comedy or profaned it by making of the mildly amusing Latin play an uproarious farce.

I propose to analyse the plots of the two plays in order to show how Molière used material taken from Terence, what changes and additions he made, and to compare corresponding characters in order to show what traits Molière took from Terence, or from other sources, and what is original with him.

The plot of Terence's *Phormio* is as follows:

Chremes, an Athenian, husband of the domineering Nausistrata, has one son by Nausistrata and a daughter by a woman in Lemnos, with whom he has contracted a bigamous marriage under an assumed name. His brother, Demipho, has a son, Antipho, to whom Chremes plans to marry his natural daughter. Demipho and Chremes go abroad leaving Demipho's slave, Geta, in charge of their sons. During their absence Antipho falls in love with a penniless orphan, Phanium, whom he has met by chance. She has recently come with her mother to Athens, where the latter has died in poverty. Antipho, who wishes to make the girl his mistress, is told that she is of good family and is refused admittance to the house. He appeals to Phormio, a parasite, for aid. Phormio devises a plan whereby Antipho can marry Phanium and, at the same time, have an excuse to offer for having married a dowerless girl without his father's

¹Boileau, Loc. cit.

²Molière, *Oeuvres* (Grands Ecrivains de la France ed.; Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1873-1900), vol. VIII.

³Molière, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1875-1884), vol. XI.

consent. Phormio, masquerading as a friend of Phanium's father, maintains in court that Antipho is next of kin to Phanium and, according to Athenian law, must marry her, since she is without means of support. Antipho offers no defense and the court orders the marriage. Chremes's son, Phaedria, also becomes involved in a love affair. He has fallen in love with Pamphila, a cithern-player, but cannot raise the money to buy her from the slave-dealer who owns her. Matters stand thus when Demipho and Chremes return from abroad. Phormio, still masquerading as a friend of Phanium's dead father, stands his ground and tries to prevent Demipho from annulling Antipho's marriage. Phaedria learns that the slave-dealer is about to sell the cithern-girl and begs Geta, the slave, to get some money for him. Geta tells Demipho that Phormio will consent to the annulment and marry Phanium himself if Demipho will provide a dowry. Chremes pays the money so that Antipho may marry his daughter, whom he intends to bring from Lemnos. After paying the money, Chremes meets Phanium's nurse, Sostrata, recognizes her as his daughter's nurse, learns that Phanium is his daughter, who has come from Lemnos in search of him, and that the marriage he has planned has already taken place. He learns also that the court decree has been obtained by trickery in order that Antipho might marry Phanium without a dowry. Geta discovers, by eavesdropping, the secret of Chremes's bigamous marriage and reports it to Phormio. Phormio, in order to escape punishment at the hands of Demipho and Chremes, reveals Chremes's secret to Nausistrata, who defends Phormio and Phaedria.

The story of *les Fourberies de Scapin* is as follows:

Argante, wealthy but miserly Neapolitan, has a son, Octave, and a daughter who was stolen as a child by Gypsies and whom he has never been able to find. Géronte, a second wealthy and avaricious old man, has a son, Léandre, by his first wife and a daughter by a second wife living in Tarentum. Argante and Géronte plan a marriage between Octave and Géronte's daughter. Argante and Géronte go abroad, leaving their sons in the care of their valets, Silvestre and Scapin. Octave has married a poor orphan, Hyacinthe, who has recently arrived with her mother in Naples, where the mother has died in poverty. Léandre has fallen in love with a Gypsy, Zerbinette. When Argante returns to Naples, Octave begs Scapin, rascally and intriguing valet of Léandre, to undertake his defense. Scapin tells Argante that Hyacinthe's brother forced Octave to marry Hyacinthe but that, out of pride, Octave will not admit having been compelled to marry the girl and will not consent, therefore, to an annulment.

Scapin maintains that Octave is blameless in the matter and hints that Léandre, his master's son, has been guilty of much more reprehensible conduct. Scapin undertakes, in addition to his task of reconciling Argante to Octave's marriage, that of raising money for both Octave, who needs funds to support his wife, and Léandre, who needs money to buy Zerbinette from the Gypsies, her guardians, who are threatening to take her away. To Argante, Scapin pretends that Hyacinthe's (imaginary) brother will consent to an annulment if Argante will pay him enough money to buy his equipment for military service. Argante finally consents and Scapin gives the money to Octave. Scapin then tells Géronte that Léandre is being held for ransom by Turkish pirates. Géronte reluctantly parts with the money supposedly demanded by the pirates. Scapin delivers the money to Léandre. Géronte learns that Hyacinthe is his daughter, who has come with her mother from Tarentum in search of Géronte. Argante learns that Zerbinette is his lost daughter. Scapin's trickery is inadvertently revealed to Géronte by Zerbinette; but he escapes punishment by pretending that he has been seriously wounded in an accident and asking for forgiveness before he dies.

Molière follows Terence rather closely in the construction of Act I of *les Fourberies de Scapin*. He has, however, made some important changes and additions. In *Phormio*, the parasite has been instrumental in bringing about the marriage of Antipho and Phanium. Molière, of necessity, altered the situation here, since he could not make use of Terence's device, which depended on a point of Athenian law. Octave does not appeal to Scapin until after his marriage. In *Phormio* the story of Antipho's marriage is related by Geta, slave of Demipho, to Davus, his friend. Davus appears only in the exposition. Molière discards the rôle of Davus and has Octave tell the story of his marriage to Scapin, begging Scapin to help him. The whole account which Octave gives of his marriage is found in *Phormio*. *Les Fourberies*, however, opens with a short scene that corresponds to a scene in *Phormio* but in which the details are reminiscent of a scene from Rotrou's *la Soeur*.⁴ In *Phormio*, Antipho and Phaedria discuss Antipho's marriage and the imminent return of Demipho. In *les Fourberies* Silvestre, valet to Octave, brings the news of Argante's return and Octave is thrown into a panic. The situation is taken from Terence and the words from Rotrou.

⁴See Molière, *Oeuvres*, ed. Moland, XI, 170, note 1.

Scene II follows Terence fairly closely. Octave's account to Scapin parallels Geta's story to Davus:

Phormio

Geta tells Davus that Chremes and Demipho left Antipho and Phaedria in his charge. (vss. 71-72.)

Geta tells Davus of Phaedria's affair with Pamphila, the cithern-girl. (vss. 80-87.)

A young man tells Antipho and Phaedria that he has just seen a young woman, in dire poverty, weeping over her dead mother. (vss. 93 ff.)

Antipho suggests that they go and visit the girl. (vss. 101-102.)

They find Phanium in squalor and wretchedness, weeping over her mother's body. (vss. 104-106.)

Phaedria is not impressed by Phanium's beauty. (vs. 110.)

Antipho falls in love with Phanium. (vs. 111.)

Antipho is told that he may not visit the girl unless he intends to marry her. (vss. 111 ff.)

Phormio concocts a plan. Antipho puts it into execution. The court issues a decree compelling the marriage. (vss. 124 ff.)

There is little translation from the Latin play, despite the parallelism of incident. The description of the girl shows a few verbal reminiscences of *Phormio*:

. . . uirgo pulchra et
quo magis diceret,
Nil aderat adiumenti ad pul-
chritudinem:
Capillus passus, nudus pes,
ipsa horrida,
Lacrimae, uestitus turpis; ut,
ni uis boni
In ipsa inesset forma, haec
*formam extinguerent.*⁵
(vss. 104-108.)

Fourberies

Octave tells Scapin that Argante and Géronte left him and Léandre in charge of Silvestre and Scapin.

Octave tells Scapin about Léandre's affair with Zerbinette.

A woman tells Octave and Léandre that she has just seen a young woman, in dire poverty, weeping over her dead mother.

Octave suggests that they go and visit the girl.

They find Hyacinthe in squalor and wretchedness, weeping over her mother's body.

Léandre is not impressed by Hyacinthe's beauty.

Octave falls in love with Hyacinthe. Silvestre interrupts Octave's story and summarizes briefly. Octave is told that he may not visit the girl unless he intends to marry her.

Silvestre says that Octave greatly agitated, deliberated, made up his mind, married the girl.

Octave

Un autre auroit paru effroyable en
l'état où elle étoit; car elle n'avoit pour
habillement qu'une méchante petite
jupe avec des brassières de nuit qui
étoient de simple futaine; et sa coiffure
étoit une cornette jaune, retroussée au
haut de sa tête qui laissoit tomber en
désordre ses cheveux sur ses épaules;
et cependant, faite comme cela, elle
brilloit de mille attraits; et ce n'étoit

⁵Parallel passages noted by Moland.

qu'agréments et que charmes que toute sa personne. (Act I, sc. 2, p. 416.)

et il n'y avoit personne qui n'eût l'âme percée de voir *un si bon naturel*. (Act I, sc. 2, p. 417.)

Léandre's "assez jolie," in commenting on Hyacinthe's beauty, echoes Phaedria's "satis scitast."⁶ (vs. 110.) Silvestre's account of Octave's reception when he returns to see the girl follows Geta's account of Antipho's reception by Phanium's nurse:

Geta

Postridie ad anum recta per-

git: obsecrat,

Vt sibi eius faciat copiam.

illa enim se negat

Neque eum aequom ait facere:

illam ciuem esse

Atticam,

Bonam bonis prognatam: si

uxorem uelit,

Lege id licere facere; sin

aliter, negat.

(vss. 112-116.)

Persuasumst homini: factumst:

uentumst: uincimur:

Duxit.

(vs. 135.)

Silvestre

Ses fréquentes visites sont rejetées de la servante, devenue la gouvernante par le trépas de la mère. Voilà mon homme au désespoir; il presse, supplie, conjure: point d'affaire. On lui dit que la fille, quoique sans bien, et sans appui, est de famille honnête; et qu'à moins que de l'épouser, on ne peut souffrir ses poursuites. Voilà son amour augmenté par les difficultés. Il consulte dans sa tête, agit, raisonne, balance, prend sa résolution; le voilà marié avec elle depuis trois jours.

(Act I, sc. 2, p. 418.)

This presentation of the antecedent action is much more skilfully handled in *les Fourberies* than in *Phormio*. Octave himself tells the story of his marriage. His annoyance at Léandre's indifference, despite his own admitted indifference to Zerbinette, his enthusiasm, his digressions in praise of Hyacinthe, all give the scene a dramatic value which is lacking in the corresponding scene in *Phormio*, since Geta, an indifferent onlooker, tells the story. The excited Octave is unable to give a straightforward account of matters. His story is interrupted at intervals by Scapin's "Où est-ce que cela mène?" When Octave finally gets to the point Scapin says: "Je sens venir les choses." This remark was probably suggested by Davus's interruption of Geta with: "iam scio, amare coepit." (vss. 110-111.) Indeed Davus's interruption may have suggested also the possibility of leading up to the "Je sens venir les choses" with the other interruptions.

⁶Verbal reminiscence noted by Despois.

After Scapin sees the drift of Octave's story, he continues to interrupt with ironical remarks such as:

Scapin: En effet, cela est touchant; et je vois que ce bon naturel-là vous la fit aimer.

Octave: Ah! Scapin, un barbare l'auroit aimée.

Scapin: Assurément: le moyen de s'en empêcher?

(p. 417.)

Finally Silvestre interrupts Octave's wandering account with a terse summary of the rest of the story ending with a verbal echo of Terence.⁷

Geta	Silvestre
Persuasumst homini: factumst: uentumst: uincimur:	Il consulte dans sa tête, agite, raisonne, balance, prend sa résolution; le voilà marié avec elle depuis trois jours. (p. 418.)
Duxit. (vs. 135.)	

By putting these words into the mouth of Silvestre and thus having him interrupt and bring to an end the diffuse story of the agitated Octave, Molière adds considerable piquancy to the scene.⁸

This scene serves not only to relate the antecedent action and to present the character of Octave but to introduce the central personage, Scapin, who reveals a professional pride in his skill at cogging and culling his masters, whom he considers his inferiors. His blasé imperturbability, growing out of his sense of superiority, sets off Octave's naïve enthusiasm and impetuosity.

In Scene III, Molière brings on Hyacinthe to add her entreaties to those of Octave. Scapin finally consents to help them, through sheer kindness of heart, he says. He then sets to work to coach Octave for the impending tilt with his father. From this point on, the scene follows *Phormio*. In the Latin play, however, it is Geta who coaches Antipho.

<i>Phormio</i>	<i>Fourberies</i>
Geta counsels Antipho to put on a bold front. (vss. 202 ff.)	Scapin counsels Octave to put on a bold front.
Antipho says that he cannot command himself. (vs. 204.)	Octave says that his timid nature prevents.
Antipho tries to put on a false air of assurance. Geta coaches him.	Scapin coaches Octave in feigning assurance.
	Scapin suggests that they rehearse the scene. He will play the rôle of Argante.

⁷Verbal reminiscence noted by Moland.

⁸Despois notes that the idea of having the valet interrupt the story was probably suggested by a passage in Rotrou's *la Soeur*. See Hachette edition, p. 418, note 2.

Phormio

(vss. 211 ff.)

Geta announces that Demipho is approaching.

(vs. 215.)

Antipho runs away.

(vs. 218.)

Geta suggests that he and Phaedria defend Antipho just as they had coached Antipho to defend himself.

(vss. 221-222.)

In this scene, as in Scene II, there is little actual translation from Terence. Molière takes a word here and there. More often he merely imitates the movement of the Latin passage, as will be evident from a comparison of the following passages:

Phormio

Geta

. . . fortis fortuna adjuuat.

Antipho

Non sum apud me.

Geta

Atqui opus est nunc quom

maxume ut sis, Antipho;

Nam si senserit te timidum pater esse,
arbitrabitur

Commeruisse culpam. . . .

Antipho

Non possum inmutari.

(vss. 203-206.)

Antipho

Quid si adsimulo? satinest?

Geta

Garris.

Antipho

Voltum contemplamini:

em,

Satine sic est?

Geta

Non.

Antipho

Quid si sic?

Geta

Propemodum.

Antipho

Fourberies

He imitates the old man so convincingly that the timid Octave is struck dumb.

Silvestre announces that Argante is approaching.

Octave runs away.

Scapin suggests that he and Silvestre remain and confront Argante.

Fourberies

Scapin

Et vous, préparez-vous à soutenir avec fermeté l'abord de votre père.

Octave

Je t'avoue que cet abord me fait trembler par avance; et j'ai une timidité naturelle que je ne saurois vaincre.
(pp. 422-423.)

Scapin

Il faut pourtant paroître ferme au premier choc de peur que, sur votre foiblesse, il ne prenne le pied de vous mener comme un enfant.

(p. 423.)

Octave

Je ferai du mieux que je pourrai.

Scapin

Allons, la mine résolue, la tête haute, les regards assurés.

Octave

Comme cela?

Scapin

Encore un peu davantage.

Octave

Ainsi?

Scapin

Bon.

(pp. 423-424.)

Phormio

Quid sic?

Geta

Sat est:⁹

(vss. 210-211.)

Geta

Sed quis hic est senex, quem
uideo in ultima platea?
ipsus est.

Antipho

Non possum adesse.

(vss. 215-216.)

Geta

Ah, quid agis? quo abis,

Antipho?

Mane inquam.

(vss. 216-217.)

.

Geta

Sed quod modo hic nos Antipho-
nem monuimus,

Id nosmet ipsos facere oportet,

Phaedria.

(vss. 221-222.)

To this scene Molière has added Scapin's imitation of Argante's anticipated indignation at Octave. His mimicry is so convincing that the timid Octave is struck dumb and loses all his assurance before his father even appears. Thus Molière makes extremely comic a scene that is only mildly amusing in the Latin play.

The scene in which Scapin and Silvestre confront Argante (sc. IV) follows Terence until Scapin begins to defend Octave:

Phormio

Demipho enters, and, not seeing Geta and Phaedria, talks aloud about Antipho's marriage.

Geta comments in asides to Phaedria on Demipho's remarks and answers Demipho without intending for him to hear.

(vss. 231 ff.)

Fourberies

Silvestre

Voilà votre père qui vient,
(p. 425.)

Octave

O ciel! je suis perdu!

Scapin

Holà, Octave, demeurez, Octave.
(p. 425.)

Scapin

Ne laissons pas d'attendre le vieillard.
(p. 425.)

Fourberies

Argante enters, and, not seeing Scapin and Silvestre, talks aloud about Octave's marriage.

Scapin comments to Silvestre on Argante's remarks, and answers him *sotto voce*.

Argante sees Silvestre, and begins to heap reproaches on him.

⁹Imitation of detail noted by Despois.

Phormio

Demipho sees Geta and begins to heap reproaches on him.

(vss. 285 ff.)

Phaedria greets Demipho and tries to appear calm and unconcerned. When Demipho insists on discussing Antipho's marriage, Phaedria pretends to be surprised that Demipho should blame Antipho in the matter.

(vss. 254 ff.)

Molière adopts, then, Terence's amusing device of a dialogue between two persons who are not talking to each other. Demipho soliloquizes and Geta, unseen and unheard by Demipho, answers the old man in asides to Phaedria. There is some verbal similarity:

Demipho

(not seeing the others)

Itane tandem uxorem duxit

Antipho iniussu meo?

Nec meum imperium, ac mitto
imperium, non simultatem
meam

Reuereri saltem!

(vss. 231-233.)

Demipho

. . . *non pudere! o facinus*

audax,

(vs. 233.)

Demipho

Quid mihi dicent aut

quam causam reperient?

Demiror.

Geta

Atqui reperiam: aliud

*cura.*¹⁰

(vss. 234-235.)

Demipho

An hoc dicet mihi:

"Inuitus feci, lex coëgit"?

(vss. 235-236.)

Fourberies

Scapin greets Argante and tries to divert his attention from Silvestre, whom Argante is upbraiding for allowing Octave to marry. Scapin pretends to be surprised that Argante should be angry with Octave.

Argante

(thinking himself alone)

*A-t-on jamais ouï parler d'une action
pareille à celle-là?*

(Act I, sc. 4, p. 426.)

Argante

Voilà une témérité bien grande!

(Act I, sc. 4, p. 426.)

Argante

*Je voudrais bien savoir ce qu'ils me
pourront dire sur ce beau mariage.*

Scapin

Nous y avons songé.

(Act I, sc. 4, p. 426.)

Argante

Tâcheront-ils de me nier la chose?

.

*Prétendront-ils m'amuser par des contes
en l'air?*

Scapin

Peut-être.

(Act I, sc. 4, p. 427.)

Argante

*Et pour ce coquin de Silvestre, je le
rouerai de coups.*

(Act I, sc. 4, p. 427.)

¹⁰Noted by Despois.

Demipho
o Geta
Monitor!
Geta
Vix tandem.¹¹
(vs. 234.)
Demipho (to Geta)
Bone custos, salue, columen
uero familiae,
Quoi commendaui filium hinc
*abiens meum.*¹²
(vss. 287-288.)
Phaedria
Mi patruë, salue.
Demipho
Salue; sed ubist
Antipho?
Phaedria
Saluom uenire . . .
Demipho
Credo; hoc responde mihi.
Phaedria
Valet, hic est; sed satin
omnia ex sententia?
Demipho
Vellem quidem.
Phaedria
Quid istuc est?
Demipho
Rogitas, Phaedria?
Bonas me absente hic con-
fecistis nuptias.
Phaedria
Eho, an id suscenses nunc
illi?
.....
Phaedria
Atqui nihil fecit, patruë,
quod suscenseas.
(vss. 254-263.)

Silvestre
J'étois bien étonné s'il m'oublioit.
(p. 428.)
Argante (to Silvestre)
Ah! ah! vous voilà donc, sage gouver-
neur de famille, beau directeur de
jeunes gens.
(Act I, sc. 4, p. 428.)
Scapin
Monsieur, je suis ravi de votre retour.
Argante
Bonjour, Scapin. (A Silvestre) vous
avez suivi mes ordres vraiment d'une
belle manière, et mon fils s'est com-
porté fort sagement pendant mon ab-
sence.
Scapin
Vous vous portez bien, à ce que je
vois?
Argante
Assez bien. (A Silvestre) tu ne dis
mot, coquin, tu ne dis mot.
Scapin
Votre voyage a-t-il été bon?
Argante
Mon Dieu! fort bon. Laisse-moi un
peu quereller en repos.
Scapin
Vous voulez vous quereller?
(Act I, sc. 4, p. 428.)
Argante
Tu n'as pas ouï parler de ce qui s'est
passé dans mon absence?
Scapin
J'ai bien ouï parler de quelque petite
chose.
(p. 429.)
.....
Scapin
J'ai considéré que, dans le fond, il n'a
pas tant de tort qu'on pourroit croire.
(p. 430.)

¹¹Noted by Despois.

¹²Noted by Despois.

Molière makes the following change in this scene. In *Phormio*, Phaedria is the first to greet Demipho. They converse for some time before Geta comes up to defend Antipho and himself. In *les Fourberies*, Silvestre and Scapin accost Argante at the same time. Argante, in a rage against Silvestre, thinks only of upbraiding the latter, while Scapin continues to interrupt him, amiably passing the time of day, as Phaedria does in the Latin play. Argante, who wishes to devote his entire attention to Silvestre, finally says to Scapin:

"Laisse-moi un peu quereller en repos."

Scapin, however, is persistent and finally succeeds in making Argante listen to him. Scapin's defense of Octave necessarily takes a different form from Geta's defense of Antipho. Geta maintains that a court decree compelled Antipho to marry Phanium and Antipho's natural timidity prevented him from offering any defense. Scapin tells Argante that Hyacinthe's relatives forced Octave to marry her because Octave had compromised her. Scapin adds to this line of defense amusing flattery of Argante:

"Que voulez-vous qu'il fît? Il voit une jeune personne qui lui veut du bien (car il tient cela de vous, d'être aimé de toutes les femmes)." (p. 431.)

"J'ai ouï dire, moi, que vous avez été autrefois un compagnon parmi les femmes." (p. 431.)

The idea of having Scapin flatter Argante probably came from Terence.¹³ Geta, for instance, praises Demipho. In reporting his conversation with Phormio, Geta represents himself as having said:

"heia, sudabis satis, si cum illo inceptas homine: ea eloquentiast." (vss. 628-629.) Scapin's flattery, however, takes a different and a more amusing form.

Act I ends with a short scene in which Silvestre tells Scapin of Octave's need of money. Scapin undertakes to raise money for Octave.

In Act I, then, Molière owes to Terence (1) the whole account of what has transpired before the play opens; (2) Scapin's instruction of Octave in preparation for his encounter with his father; (3) the first part of the encounter of Silvestre and Scapin with the angry Argante; and, in Scapin's defense of Octave, the former's hypocritical flattery of Argante, which, however, takes a different form. Despite the parallelism of incident in several scenes, there is little translation from the Latin. Molière imitates the tone or the movement of a passage: he seldom borrows the words.

¹³Compare the scene in the *Adelphoe* in which the slave, Syrus, hypocritically flatters Demea: "tu nil nisi sapientia est," *Adelphoe*, verse 394.

Molière has made important changes, moreover, even in the material which he took from Terence. His exposition of the antecedent action is more skilful. In *Phormio*, the story of Antipho's marriage is told by an indifferent observer to an outsider who does not appear again in the play. In *les Fourberies* the story is told by the principal actor in the drama. Octave tells his story in great agitation over the news of his father's return. This change not only enlivens the exposition but gives Molière the opportunity to have Octave himself reveal his own character. Octave's agitation, his impulsiveness, his naïve enthusiasm, are in contrast to Scapin's calm superiority, his mocking imperturbability. Octave's recital is interrupted by Scapin's ironical remarks, which serve not only to break the monotony of the long exposition but to reveal the character of Scapin.

Octave's annoyance at Léandre's indifference to Hyacinthe's beauty, his ingenuous admission of his own indifference to Zerbinette's beauty, Scapin's pride in his skill at intrigue, his insistence upon regarding himself as a kindhearted benefactor of humanity, his realistic portrayal of the rôle of indignant father, and his flattery of Argante, all original with Molière, add a comic verve to the first act which is lacking in *Phormio*.

In Act II, Molière again uses the *Phormio* as a framework and imitates in detail several scenes. But in this act, and in Act III, he introduces material from other sources. In order to incorporate this material logically into his plot, he has to change and add to the material from Terence.

Scene I corresponds to the opening scene of Act IV of *Phormio*, in which Chremes and Demipho discuss their plan of marrying Antipho to Chremes's daughter. In *les Fourberies*, Argante and Géronte discuss the miscarriage of their plan to marry Géronte's daughter to Octave. But, unlike Chremes, Géronte blames Argante for Octave's conduct:

"si vous aviez, en brave père, moriginé votre fils, il ne vous auroit pas joué le tour qu'il vous a fait." (p. 439.)

Argante takes offense and tells Géronte that his own son, Léandre, has committed a worse offense. Géronte is alarmed and asks what Léandre has done. Argante tells him to ask his informant, Scapin. (In defending Octave Scapin has hinted that Léandre has been guilty of more reprehensible conduct than Octave.)

In Scene II, Géronte questions Léandre and tells him that Scapin has reported his conduct.

In this scene Molière again imitates the meeting between Phaedria and Demipho in *Phormio*. Léandre greets his father effusively. Géronte, pre-occupied with the rumor which he has heard concerning Léandre's conduct,

receives Léandre's demonstrations of affection coldly and insists on settling the question that is troubling him.

Demipho
Phaedriam mei fratris uideo
filium mi ire obuiam.

Phaedria
Mi patruë, salue.

Demipho
Salue; sed ubist
Antipho?

Phaedria
Saluom uenire . . .

Demipho
Credo; hoc responde
mihi.

Phaedria
Valet, hic est; sed satin
omnia ex sententia?
(vss. 253-256.)

Géronte
Ah! vous voilà!

Léandre
Ah! mon père, que j'ai de joie de
vous voir de retour.

Géronte
Douxement. Parlons un peu d'affaire.

Léandre
Souffrez que je vous embrasse, et
que . . .

Géronte
Douxement, vous dis-je.
(Act II, sc. 2, p. 441.)

In Scene III, Léandre, incensed at Scapin for, as he supposes, having betrayed him to his father, threatens to run Scapin through if he does not confess what he has done. Scapin thereupon confesses one trick after another which Léandre has never suspected.¹⁴

Scene IV: At this point the quarrel is interrupted by Carle, a friend of Scapin's, who brings the news that Zerbinette is about to be carried off by her guardians, the Gypsies. The tables are immediately turned in Scapin's favor. Léandre now begs Scapin to help him; but Scapin, having the upper hand again, cannot refrain from tormenting Léandre before promising his aid. He refuses to forgive Léandre for his insults until Léandre is on his knees to him begging his forgiveness as Scapin has, a moment before, been on his knees begging Léandre for mercy. When he finally agrees to help Léandre, he makes the following comment on Géronte:

" . . . pour l'esprit, il n'en a pas, grâce à Dieu! grande provision, et je le livre pour une espèce d'homme à qui l'on fera toujours croire tout ce que l'on voudra." (pp. 452-453.)

This remark prepares us for Géronte's credulity and gullibility in the galley scene and in the sack scene: and serves, therefore, further to justify the inclusion of these scenes.

¹⁴A similar scene has been noted in an Italian scenario, but the date of the Italian play is not known. It may, therefore, be later than les *Fourberies*. See Hachette edition, VIII, 448, note 3.

These scenes, probably all original with Molière, have as their primary purpose the motivation of a later scene, in which Scapin takes vengeance on Géronte for having accused him of betraying Léandre's secret. But they have an intrinsic dramatic value. What could be more natural than the quarrel of the two old men over their sons? Scapin's unnecessary confession and the comic peripety brought about by the news of Zerbinette's impending departure are in line with the changes Molière has made in Act I; they add comedy that was absent, or, at least, not sustained in the Latin play.

Scene V is the first scene in Act II which follows *Phormio* in any detail. This scene opens with a "jeu de scène" and a verbal reminiscence of the Latin play:

Argante enters without seeing Scapin and mutters to himself. (Compare the beginning of Act II in *Phormio*.) His words recall verses 441-444 of the Latin play:

Demipho
Quanta me cura et sollicitudine
adficit
Gnatus, qui me et se hisce
inpediuit nuptiis!

Argante
Avoir si peu de conduite et de considération! s'aller jeter dans un engagement comme celui-là!
(p. 453.)

There follows a passage taken almost verbatim from Act II of *Phormio*. Demipho is reflecting on the misfortunes that greet a man on his return home after a long absence:

Quam ob rem omnis, quom secundae res sunt maxume,
tum maxume
Meditari secum oportet, quo pacto aduorsam aerumnam
ferant:
[Pericla, damna, exilia peregre rediens semper
cogitet]
Aut fili peccatum aut uxoris mortem aut morbum filiae;
Communia esse haec, fieri posse, ut ne quid animo
sit nouom;
Quidquid praeter spem eueniat, omne id deputare esse
in lucro.

Geta remarks in an aside to Phaedria:

O Phaedria, Incredibilest quantum erum ante eo sapientia.
Meditata mihi sunt omnia mea incommoda, erus si
redierit:
Molendumst in pistrino, uapulandum, habendae compedes,

Opus ruri faciundum. horum nil quicquam accidet
 animo nouom.
 Quidquid praeter spem eueniet, omne id deputabo
 esse in lucro.
 (vss. 241-251.)

Molière puts both these speeches in Scapin's mouth:

Scapin

Monsieur, la vie est mêlée de traverses. Il est bon de s'y tenir sans cesse préparé; et j'ai ouï dire, il y a longtemps, une parole d'un ancien que j'ai toujours retenue.

Argante

Quoi?

Scapin

Que pour peu qu'un père de famille ait été absent de chez lui, il doit promener son esprit sur tous les fâcheux accidents que son retour peut rencontrer: se figurer sa maison brûlée, son argent dérobé, sa femme morte, son fils estropié, sa fille subornée; et ce qu'il trouve qu'il ne lui est point arrivé, l'imputer à la bonne fortune. Pour moi, j'ai pratiqué toujours cette petite philosophie; et je ne suis jamais revenu au logis, que je ne me sois tenu prêt à la colère de mes maîtres, aux réprimandes, aux injures, aux coups de pied au cul, aux bastonnades, aux étrivières; et ce qui a manqué à m'arriver, j'en ai rendu grâce à mon bon destin.¹⁵ (pp. 454-455.)

By cutting these speeches out of the scene in which they occur in the *Phormio*, a scene which Molière imitates in Act I, Scene IV, Molière does away with a tiresome soliloquy. By transferring the speech to the present scene and to Scapin, he has given it a comic turn that it did not have in the *Phormio*. A grave sententiousness on Scapin's part, and a hypocritical solicitude for his intended victim, make of a dull soliloquy an amusing bit of comedy.

From this point on, Molière follows a later scene in the *Phormio*. The corresponding incidents are as follows:

Phormio

Geta tells Demipho that he has persuaded Phormio (supposed to be the friend of Phanium's dead father) to consent to an annulment of Phanium's marriage and to marry Phanium him-

Fourberies

Scapin tells Argante that he has persuaded Hyacinthe's brother to allow him to annul the marriage if Argante will give the brother enough money to buy his equipment for military service.

¹⁵Imitation of detail noted by Despois.

Phormio

self if Demipho will furnish him with a dowry.

(vss. 619 ff.)

Geta tells Demipho Phormio's terms, and, in order to run the figure up, enumerates the things Phormio will need to set up housekeeping.

(vss. 650 ff.)

Demipho demurs but Chremes offers to pay the money so that Antipho may marry his daughter.

(vss. 664 ff.)

Fourberies

Scapin tells Argante the brother's terms and enumerates the things which he must buy in order to equip himself for military service.

Argante demurs at each new item and threatens to go to law. Scapin paints a discouraging picture of the expenses and annoyances of lawsuits. He cannot, however, run the amount up quite high enough. Argante resolves to go to law.

The difference in situation in the two plays precludes literal translation; but Molière has followed Terence rather closely in the first part of the scene. Geta describes his interview with Phormio, representing himself as having Demipho's interests at heart:

Geta

Vt abii abs te fit forte obuiam

Mihi Phormio.

.

Visumst mi, ut eius temptarem sententiam.

Prendo hominem solum: "quor non" inquam, "Phormio,

Vides, inter nos sic haec potius cum bona

Vt componamus gratia quam cum mala?

Erus liberalis est et fugitans litium;

Nam ceteri quidem hercle amici omnes modo

Vno ore auctores fuere, ut praecipitem hanc daret."

(vss. 617-625.)

Scapin carries his effrontery a little further than Geta. Geta says he met Phormio by chance. Scapin maintains that he was so concerned over Argante's plight that he sought out the brother of Hyacinthe in order to try to arrive at an amicable arrangement:

J'ai donc été trouver le frère de cette fille qui a été épousée. . . . Je l'ai mis sur ce mariage, lui ai fait voir quelle facilité offroit la raison de la violence pour le faire casser, vos prérogatives du nom de père, et l'appui que vous donneroient auprès de la justice et votre droit et votre argent, et vos amis. Enfin, je l'ai tant tourné de tous les côtés, qu'il a prêté l'oreille aux propositions que je lui ai faites d'ajuster l'affaire pour quelque somme; et il donnera son consentement à rompre le mariage, pourvu que vous lui donniez de l'argent. (pp. 456-457.)

Like Geta Scapin does not at first mention the sum. When questioned by Argante he pretends to think the sum demanded exorbitant, as Geta does also. Like Demipho, Argante flies into a rage when he hears the figure. As Geta does, Scapin pretends to agree with him.

Chremes
Cedo quid postulat?
Geta
Quid? nimium quantum.
Chremes
Quantum? dic.
Geta
Si quis daret
Talentum magnum.
Demipho
Immo malum hercle:
ut nil pudet!
Geta
Quod dixi adeo eï: "quaeso,
quid si filiam
Suam unicam locaret? . . ."¹⁶
(vss. 642-646.)

Argante
Et qu'a-t-il demandé?
Scapin
Oh! d'abord des choses pardessus les
maisons.
Argante
Et quoi?
Scapin
Des choses extravagantes.
Argante
Mais encore?
Scapin
Il ne parloit pas moins que de cinq
ou six cents pistoles.
Argante
Cinq ou six cents fièvres quartaines
qui le puissent serrer! Se moque-t-il
des gens?
Scapin
C'est ce que je lui ai dit. J'ai rejeté
bien loin de pareilles propositions.
(pp. 457-458.)

Like Geta Scapin has named a sum much larger than he expects to get. As Geta does, Scapin now explains why the money is needed. He names the first item, which requires a moderate sum. Argante agrees to pay this small sum, as Demipho does:

Geta
*Vt ad pauca redeam ac mittam
illius ineptias,*
Haec denique eius fuit postrema
oratio;
"Ego" inquit "a principio
amici filiam,
Ita ut aequom fuerat, uolui
uxorem ducere;

Scapin
Enfin, après plusieurs discours, voici
où s'est réduit le résultat de notre
conférence. "Nous voilà au temps,
m'a-t-il dit, que je dois partir pour
l'armée; je suis après à m'équiper, et
le besoin que j'ai de quelque argent
me fait consentir, malgré moi, à ce
qu'on me propose. Il me faut un

¹⁶Imitation of detail noted by Despois.

Geta

Nam mihi uenibat in mentem
eius incommodum,

In servitutem pauperem ad
ditem dari.

Sed mi opus erat, ut aperte
tibi nunc fabuler,

Aliquantulum quae adferret,
qui dissoluerem

Quae debeo: et etiam nunc,
si uolt Demipho

Dare quantum ab hac accipio,
quae sponsast mihi,

Nullam mihi malim quam istanc
uxorem dari."

(vs. 648-658.)

.....

Demipho

Age age, iam ducat: *dabo*.

In the *Phormio* Demipho finds the second item too steep and thereafter refuses to pay any more. It is Chremes who consents to pay each additional item. As the scene in *les Fourberies* is between Argante and Scapin alone, Molière necessarily changes it somewhat. Argante consents to the second item. At the third he threatens to go to law; but finally yields. Thus far the scene in *les Fourberies* has followed the corresponding one in *Phormio* fairly closely. Molière has adapted both Demipho's speeches and those of Chremes to his scene, as is evident from the following passages:

Geta

"Aediculae item sunt ob *decem*
alias."

Demipho

Oieï,

Nimiumst.

Chremes

Ne clama: repetito
hasce a me decem.

Geta

"Vxori emunda ancillulast; tum
pluscula

Suppellectile opus est; opus est
sumptu ad nuptias:

His rebus *porro* sane pone"
inquit "decem."

Scapin

cheval de service, et je n'en saurois
avoir un qui soit tant soit peu raisonnable à moins de soixante pistoles."

Argante

Eh! bien, pour soixante pistoles, *je les donne*.

(pp. 458-459.)

Scapin

"Il faudra les harnois et les pistolets;
et cela ira bien à vingt *pistoles en-*
core."

Argante

Vingt pistoles et soixante, ce seroit
quatre-vingts.

Scapin

Justement.

Argante

C'est beaucoup; mais soit,
je consens à cela.

Scapin

Il me faut aussi un cheval pour monter mon valet, qui coutera bien trente pistoles.

Demipho
 Sescentas proinde scribito iam
 mihi dicas:
Nil do. inpuratus me ille ut
 etiam inrideat?
 Chremes
Cuaeso, ego dabo, quiesce.
 (vss. 662-670.)

Argante
 Comment diantre! *qu'il se promène;*
il n'aura rien du tout.

.....
 Scapin
 Monsieur!

Argante
 Non! c'est un *impertinent.*

.....
 Eh! bien soit; je me résous à donner
 encore ces trente pistoles.
 (pp. 459-460.)

By dropping Chremes from this scene and utilizing his words for Argante's rôle, Molière has given a new turn to the whole scene. Demipho never vacillates. Once he has refused to give the sum demanded, he stands his ground. Argante refuses, Scapin wheedles, Argante weakens and agrees to each additional sum. Molière continues this "jeu". As the sum Scapin asks for mounts, Argante becomes more and more determined to go to law. But Scapin paints a black picture of the annoyances and expenses of a law-suit. The cue for this argument of Scapin's is in Terence's play since Demipho threatens to go to law (vs. 668); but the details of Scapin's enumeration of the abuses of court procedure are not in the Latin play.¹⁷ In the end, Argante stands his ground and Scapin is forced to play his trump card.

Silvestre enters disguised as a "spadassin" and representing himself to be Hyacinthe's brother, asks Scapin where he can find Argante. He has heard, he says, that Argante threatens to annul the marriage and he intends to kill Argante if he can find him. He has pretended up to this time not to see Argante, who is hiding behind Scapin. He now pretends to catch sight of him for the first time and asks Scapin who the man is. "Ce n'est pas lui, Monsieur," Scapin replies.

Silvestre
 N'est-ce point quelqu'un de ses amis?

Scapin
 Non, Monsieur, au contraire, c'est son ennemi capital.

Thereupon Silvestre grasps Argante roughly by the hand and swears to rid him of his enemy before sun-down.¹⁸ (Act II, sc. 6, pp. 468-469.)

¹⁷See Hachette edition, VIII, 460, note (1).

¹⁸Despois attributes this scene to Rosimond, who, in a one-act comedy played in 1670, used the same device as Molière, namely, a valet masquerading as a bravo. Molière may have got the idea of Silvestre's disguise from Rosimond, but the scene follows Terence. See Hachette edition, VIII, 471, note (9).

This scene was probably suggested by a similar scene in the *Phormio*. Phormio and Geta, pretending not to see Demipho, put on a similar comedy for Demipho's benefit. "Iam ego hunc agitabo," says Phormio aside to Geta. He then begins to rage against Demipho for threatening to annul Phanium's marriage while Geta speaks in hypocritical defense of his master:

Geta: Si erum insimulabis malitiae, male audies.

(vs. 359.)

Scapin: Monsieur, ce père d'Octave a du coeur, et peut-être ne vous craindra-t-il point. (p. 469.)

Scapin's hypocritical defense of his master is more comical than Geta's. Scapin has the effrontery to praise Argante's courage at the very moment when the old man is trying to hide behind Scapin, cowering and quaking with fear. The farcical denial of Argante's identity and Scapin's assertion that the old man is Argante's worst enemy are not in the Latin. Molière prolongs the scene further with still another farcical incident. On Silvestre's exit, Argante announces that he has decided to pay the money which Hyacinthe's brother demands. Scapin tells him to give him the money to deliver. Argante hesitates to entrust the money to Scapin, whereupon the latter, assuming an air of injured pride, refuses at first to accept the money even when Argante presses it upon him. Argante's hesitation about giving the money to Scapin may have been suggested by Demipho's refusal to pay the dowry money to Phormio except before witnesses (vss. 714-715); but this caution on Demipho's part is merely the cue for the imitation of a scene from Plautus's *Bacchides*.¹⁹

Scapin, having procured the money which Octave needs to support his wife, now sets about extorting from Géronte the sum which Léandre must have to buy Zerbinette from her guardians:

Scapin, pretending not to see Géronte, begins bewailing some great misfortune that has befallen Géronte, calling the name of Géronte and uttering lamentations. Géronte runs after him trying to attract his attention and find out what misfortune of his Scapin is bewailing. Scapin tells him that his son Léandre, strolling along the shore, has been invited aboard a Turkish ship. Once aboard, he has been made a prisoner and Scapin has come back to get the ransom demanded by the Turks. Géronte, torn between anxiety for his son and anguish at the thought of parting with his money, reiterates the question "Qu'alloit-il faire dans cette galère?"

¹⁹See Hachette edition, VIII, 473, note (1).

The first part of this scene is imitated from a scene in *Phormio*:²⁰

Geta, having surprised the secret of Chremes's bigamous marriage and the identity of Phanium, rushes out to find Antipho. He does not see Antipho, who overhears Geta's soliloquy as he rejoices over Antipho's good fortune. Although Geta is rejoicing over his master's good fortune and Scapin is bewailing Géronte's misfortune, the two passages show unmistakable verbal similarity:

Geta
(not seeing Antipho)
O Fortuna, o Fors Fortuna,
quantis commoditatibus,
Quam subito meo ero Antipho
ope uostra hunc
onerastis diem!

Antipho
Quid nam hic sibi uolt?

Geta
.....
Ad lenonem hinc ire pergam:
ibi nunc sunt.

Antipho
Heus, Geta!
(vss. 841-843 and 847.)

Scapin
(pretending not to see Géronte)
O ciel O disgrâce imprévue!
o misérable père! Pauvre
Géronte, que feras-tu?
Géronte
Que dit-il là de moi, avec ce visage
affligé?

Scapin
(courant sur la scène sans vouloir
entendre ni voir Géronte)
Où pourrai-je le rencontrer, pour lui
dire cette infortune?

Géronte
Holà! es-tu aveugle que tu ne me vois
pas?
(Act II, sc. 6. pp. 475-476.)

Although Geta actually does not see Antipho while Scapin is only pretending not to see Géronte, this passage from *Phormio* is plainly the source of Molière's scene. The device of having one character pretend not to see another and soliloquize for the benefit of the other is frequent enough in Terence.²¹

The rest of Scene VI is probably from Cyrano de Bergerac's *le Pédant joué*, although some critics have expressed doubt about the relation of this scene to the corresponding one in *le Pédant joué*.²²

²⁰Moland indicates as sources of the first part of this scene an Italian comedy, *Emilia*, of Luidgi Grotto (Act I, sc. 5) and a play of Larivey's, *la Constance* (IV, 5). See Moland's edition, XI, 226, note (1). Despois gives a reference to a scene in the *Epidicus* of Plautus (Act II, sc. 2). See Hachette edition, VIII, 476, note (3).

²¹See, for instance, the *Adelphoe*, which Molière has already imitated in *l'Ecole des maris*, verses 364-370, where the slave Syrus soliloquizes for Demea's benefit, whom he pretends not to see.

²²In *le Pédant joué*, Corbineli, a rascally valet, extorts money from Granger, a pedant, by the same device which Scapin uses. There is the same repetition of the line: "Qu'alloit-il faire dans cette galère?" But Cyrano's play takes place at Paris and the pirates are supposed to come up the Seine. Moreover, they capture Granger's

Act II ends with a short scene in which Scapin delivers the money that he has collected to Octave and Léandre. Still harboring a grudge against the latter for his humiliation, Scapin indulges in a little baiting before giving the money to Léandre. He tells Léandre that he has been unable to do anything for him. Léandre then rushes off the stage, threatening to kill himself. Scapin calls him back and gives him the money. Léandre's threat of suicide recalls a similar scene in *Phormio*. Learning that Dorio is going to sell Pamphila, Phaedria threatens to kill himself if the girl is taken away from him. (vss. 551-552.) Molière makes the scene much lighter by using the incident under different circumstances. What was almost tragedy in the Latin play becomes comedy here.

In Act II, then, Molière's debt to Terence is smaller than in Act I. Scene I does not follow the corresponding scene in Terence. The next three scenes are original with Molière. Scene V is made up largely of material taken from Terence, as I have shown; but follows no one scene of the *Phormio*. Molière alters considerably the material which he borrows from Terence. His changes, such as having Scapin speak the lines concerning the misfortunes that await a father on his return home after a long absence, such as dropping the rôle of Chremes in this scene, and having Scapin play upon Argante's fear of law suits so that throughout the scene Argante is in two minds about paying the money to Hyacinthe's brother, all tend to make the scene more comical than the corresponding one in *Phormio*. Scene VI was suggested by a scene from the *Phormio* but Molière has added farcical elements taken from other sources. The most amusing, if not the most important, scene of Act II, that is, Scene VII,

son, according to Corbineli's story, so that the "Qu'alloit-il faire dans cette galère?" is not motivated as in *les Fourberies*, where Léandre is supposed to board the galley of his own accord on the invitation of an amiable young Turk. Because of this lack of motivation, which would indicate a scene awkwardly adapted by Cyrano, Moland thinks that the two scenes are derived from a common source. He finds an Italian scenario in which the same trick is recorded with bandits instead of pirates. He assumes that in improvising the actors may have substituted pirates for bandits and may even have thought of the comic refrain "Qu'alloit-il faire dans cette galère?" But there is still another verbal reminiscence of Cyrano's scene in *les Fourberies*. The pedant says: "Va prendre dans mes armoires ce pourpoint découpé que quitta feu mon père l'année du grand hyver." (Cyrano de Bergerac, "Le pédant joué." *Les Contemporains de Molière*, ed V. Fournel (Paris, 1875), III, 393.) Molière has Géronte say: "Tu iras prendre toutes les hardes qui sont dans cette grande manne, et tu les vendras aux fripiers, pour aller racheter mon fils." This second verbal correspondence has not before been pointed out. It would be stretching coincidence a little far to assume that the Italian actor hit upon both these speeches by chance, that both Molière and Cyrano heard him, and that Molière remembered the words for some twenty-five years. (For Moland's discussion see his edition of Molière, XI, 150-154.)

Molière probably owes to Cyrano de Bergerac, although the first part of the scene is imitated from a scene in *Phormio*.

Act III is constructed almost independently of Terence. Zerbinette and Hyacinthe are brought upon the stage in Scene I. This scene serves as a preparation for Scene III. We are given an idea of Zerbinette's irrepressible, happy disposition. She characterizes herself as "d'humeur enjouée."

Zerbinette asks Scapin to tell her about how he tricked Géronte into giving him money for Léandre. Scapin leaves the task to Silvestre. Scapin is planning his vengeance on Géronte. Silvestre does not succeed in dissuading him. Silvestre's fears for Scapin recall those of Geta for Phormio in verses 324-325 of *Phormio*, but Scapin's fearlessness comes from his venturesome and courageous nature (so he says) while Phormio replies to Geta that he has nothing to fear since he would be an unprofitable victim of a law-suit.

In Scene II, Scapin puts his plan into execution:

He tells Géronte that Hyacinthe's bloodthirsty brother and his friends are looking for Géronte to kill him because he has instigated the proposed annulment of Hyacinthe's marriage in order to marry his own daughter to Octave. Scapin persuades the terrified Géronte to hide in a sack, while he, Scapin, assumes a Gascon accent, enacts the rôle of several bravos who in turn thrash Géronte soundly, while Scapin, carrying on a conversation with the imaginary bravos, pretends that he himself is being beaten at the same time as Géronte. Géronte unexpectedly emerges from the sack and catches Scapin at his tricks.²³

Molière has skilfully motivated this scene and integrated it to his plot by introducing earlier scenes in which Scapin's resentment against Géronte is aroused and Géronte's stupidity and gullibility are mentioned.

Scene III Molière probably took from *le Pédant joué*. Zerbinette meets Géronte, whom she has never seen before, and, still amused by the thought of Scapin's pirate story, cannot resist repeating it to Géronte, who has asked the cause of her mirth.

In Cyrano's play Genevieve relates the story of the abduction by pirates to Granger, the pedant, who has been the victim of Corbineli's trick. Genevieve, however, knows that she is speaking to the victim and pretends

²³Similar scenes seem to have been part of the common stock of the farces of the period. Despois calls attention to two possible sources of the scene, one in *les Facétieuses nuits* of Straparole and one in *Les Farces Tabariniques*. The only point of resemblance, however, is the use of a sack in both. See Hachette edition, VIII, 390-393.

that she does not know that Granger himself was the victim. Genevieve is malicious and cruel; Zerbinette is merely giddy and laughter-loving.²⁴

Scene I and Scene III are the most important of Act III. Scenes IV, V, and VI, are short scenes without any importance except to lead up to the dénouement:

Scene IV: Zerbinette learns from Silvestre that she has been talking to Géronte himself.

Scene V: Argante upbraids Silvestre for tricking him. Silvestre denies having had any part in Scapin's roguery.

Scene VI: Géronte and Argante plan vengeance on Scapin.

Scene VII is the only scene in Act III which is taken from Terence. This is the scene in which Géronte learns that Hyacinthe is his daughter. It corresponds to the scene in which Chremes learns that Phanium is his daughter:

Phormio

Chremes meets and recognizes as his daughter's nurse Sophrona, nurse to Phanium.

Chremes tells Sophrona not to call him Stilpho because he does not want his wife to know of his duplicity.

Sophrona tells Chremes that the change of name has made it impossible for his wife to find him.

Sophrona tells Chremes that his daughter, Phanium, is married to Antipho. (vss. 739-753.)

Fourberies

Géronte meets Nérine, Hyacinthe's nurse, and recognizes her as his daughter's nurse.

Géronte tells Nérine not to call him Pandolphe any longer because the reasons for assuming that name have ceased to exist.

Nérine tells Géronte that this change of name made it impossible for his wife to find him.

Nérine tells Géronte that his daughter, Hyacinthe, is married to Octave.

Except, of course, for the reference to Chremes's wife, Molière here translates freely the passage in the *Phormio*.

Chremes
Sophrona.
Sophrona
Et meum nomen nominat?
Chremes
Respice ad me.
Sophrona
Di obsecro uos, estne
hic Stilpo?
. . . .

Geronte
Ah! te voilà, Nourrice?
Nérine
A! seigneur Pandolphe, que . . .
Géronte
Appelle-moi Géronte, et ne te sers
plus de ce nom. Les raisons ont cessé
qui m'avoient obligé à le prendre parmi
vous à Tarente.
(Act III, sc. 7, p. 507.)

²⁴See V. Fournel, *Les Contemporains de Molière*, III, 395-397.

Chremes

Ne me istoc posthac nomine
appellassis. . . .

Conclusam hic habeo uxorem
saeuam. uerum istoc
me nomine

Eo perperam olim dixi, ne uos
forte imprudentes foris

Effutiretis atque id porro
aliqua uxor mea rescis-
ceret.

(vss. 739-740, 744-746.)

Sophrona

Istoc pol nos te hic inuenire
miserae numquam potuimus.

Chremes

Vbi illae sunt?

. . . .

Sophrona

Ego autem, quae essem
anus deserta egens
ignota,

Vt potui nuptum uirginem
locaui huic adules-
centi,

Harum qui est dominus ae-
dium.²⁵

(vss. 747, 751-753.)

Nérine

Las! que ce changement de noms nous
a causé de troubles et d'inquiétudes
dans les soins que nous avons pris de
vous venir chercher ici.

Géronte

Où est ma fille et sa mère?

Nérine

Votre fille, monsieur, n'est pas loin
d'ici; mais avant que de vous la faire
voir, il faut que je vous demande par-
don de l'avoir mariée, dans l'abandon-
nement où, faute de vous rencontrer,
je me suis trouvée avec elle.

(pp. 507-508.)

The rest of the dénouement is of necessity different from that of *Phormio*. Molière has dropped the rôle of Nausistrata. Scapin, therefore, must find another device to escape punishment. He sends word to Géronte and Argante that he has been seriously wounded in an accident and begs forgiveness before he dies. He is carried in and finally persuades Géronte to grant him unconditional pardon. In the meantime, Argante has discovered that Zerbinette is his lost daughter. The whole company goes in to dinner and the play ends with Scapin's: "Et moi, qu'on me porte au bout de la table en attendant que je meure." It is fitting that this last speech of Scapin's should be an echo of Terence. *Phormio*, at the end of the Latin play, asks Nausistrata to invite him to dinner. (vss. 1052-1053.)

Act III shows less Terentian influence than Act I or Act II. The two major scenes are from other sources, while Scapin's device for extricating

²⁵Noted by Despois.

himself from the predicament in which he finds himself is original with Molière and necessarily different from Phormio's trick in Terence's play. The only scene imitated from Terence in Act III is the discovery of Hyacinthe's identity. *Les Fourberies* very appropriately ends with a reminiscence of *Phormio*.

It is evident from the analysis of the two plays that *les Fourberies de Scapin* is very far from being a servile imitation of *Phormio*. It is, indeed, not even a free adaptation of the Latin play. Molière merely used *Phormio* as a basis on which he constructed a play largely of his own invention but with several important scenes drawn from other sources. Since he used the plot of *Phormio* as the skeleton, so to speak, of his play, it is to be expected that the first act, the exposition, be made up largely of material drawn from Terence. Such is the case. Even in the exposition, however, he has made changes. He does not follow the order of the scenes in the Latin play. He alters the presentation of the antecedent action so as to throw into high relief the characters of Octave and Scapin and at the same time considerably to enliven the account of what has taken place before the opening scene of the play. He adds farcical elements which serve to set the tone of his play, much more uproariously gay than that of *Phormio*. Act II opens with a situation found in Terence's play, but the scene in Terence merely furnishes the impetus for four scenes original with Molière in which he prepares the way for Scapin's vengeance on Géronte in Act III. Scenes V and VI, two of the three most important scenes of Act II, are made up of material taken from the Latin play. Molière does not, however, follow any one scene of *Phormio*. Moreover he rearranges, alters, and expands the material taken from Terence so as to heighten its comic value. He adds a farcical scene borrowed from Plautus. Scene VII opens with a farcical "jeu de scene" suggested by two scenes of *Phormio* but is taken for the most part from *le Pédant joué*. In the short scene with which Act II ends, one incident is suggested by a similar one in *Phormio*; but, introduced, as it is, under different circumstances, it becomes comedy instead of tragedy, as it was in Terence. In Act III, the most important scenes are either of Molière's own invention or from other sources. *Phormio* furnishes one scene of the dénouement and suggests the amusing speech of Scapin with which the play ends.

Molière's treatment of the characters of his play is no less independent of Terence than his handling of incident. The corresponding characters are:

Phormio

Davus, a slave
 Geta, a slave
 Antipho, a young man
 Phaedria, a young man
 Demipho, father of Antipho
 Chremes, father of Phaedria
 Phormio, a parasite
 Dorio, a slave-dealer
 Sophrona, nurse to Phanium
 Nausistrata, wife of Chremes
 (Phanium, wife of Antipho)
 (Pamphila, a cithern girl,
 mistress of Phaedria)

Fourberies

.
 Silvestre, valet to Octave.
 Octave.
 Léandre.
 Argante, father of Octave.
 Géronte, father of Léandre.
 Scapin, valet to Léandre.
 Carle, a friend of Scapin.
 Nérine, servant of Hyacinthe.

 Hyacinthe, wife of Octave.

 Zerbinette, a Gypsy, sweetheart of
 Leandre.

As I have indicated in my analysis of the plot, Molière makes the following general changes in the matter of characters. The rôle of Davus is cut out. Davus appears only in the exposition in the Latin play. It is to him that Geta tells the story of Antipho's marriage. Molière's rearrangement of the exposition of antecedent action makes the rôle of Davus unnecessary. The rôle of Nausistrata, wife of Chremes, is dropped, probably for the sake of propriety. Molière avoids making Géronte a bigamist as Chremes is in the Latin play. Nausistrata is, moreover, merely the means of bringing about the dénouement of the Latin play. It is she who protects Phaedria and Phormio from Chremes. Molière finds a more amusing solution of Scapin's entanglement. It is logical and fitting that Scapin, who is so proud of his genius for those "gentilleses d'esprit . . . à qui le vulgaire ignorant donne le nom de fourberies," should find for himself a way out of his difficulties.²⁶

Molière has added the rôles of Hyacinthe and Zerbinette. Phanium and Pamphila do not appear in *Phormio*. Molière makes Hyacinthe and Zerbinette distinct characters. Hyacinthe is gentle and demure. Zerbinette is of a laughing, happy nature, delightfully *étourdie*.

By transferring Davus's rôle to Scapin, Geta's rôle in the exposition to Octave, and much of Geta's rôle in later scenes and part of Phaedria's to

²⁶I cannot agree with Claas Humbert, who thinks that Molière dropped Nausistrata because she is a depraved and repellent character, unworthy even of farce. She is unworthy of farce, perhaps, but only because she is not funny. Molière drops the rôle because it is unnecessary. He has found a dénouement that is at once more amusing and more logical than that of *Phormio* and one which enables him to achieve in *les Fourberies* a stricter unity, for the action of *les Fourberies* revolves around Scapin much more than around Phormio in the Latin play. For Humbert's argument see *op. cit.*, p. 18.

Scapin, Molière has made Scapin much more the central figure of his play than Phormio is in the Latin play. He has also thrown into higher relief the rôle of Octave. It follows that the rôles of Silvestre and Léandre are correspondingly less important than those of Geta and Phaedria in *Phormio*.

Scapin must be compared with both Phormio and Geta, since Molière has used both these rôles of the Latin play to build up that of Scapin. Like Phormio, Scapin is not afraid of punishment for his tricks. But Phormio's fearlessness arises from the cynical conviction that he would be an unprofitable victim. A judgment against him would bring nothing, since he has nothing; no one will make him a slave, since no one wants to feed a lazy glutton. Scapin's imperturbability grows out of his sense of superiority to his victims. Argante and Géronte are too stupid and gullible to be dangerous. His sense of superiority includes also Octave and Léandre. He is above Octave's ingenuous enthusiasm and his excitability. To Scapin, the grave predicament in which Octave finds himself is a bagatelle; Hyacinthe, who, to Octave, is surpassingly beautiful, is to Scapin "passable." (I, 3.) Scapin's superiority sometimes takes the form of boasting. He says:

A vous dire la vérité, il y a peu de choses qui me soient impossibles, quand je m'en veux mêler. J'ai sans doute reçu du Ciel un génie assez beau pour toutes les fabriques de ces gentillesse d'esprit, de ces galanteries ingénieuses à qui le vulgaire ignorant donne le nom de fourberies; et je puis dire, sans vanité, qu'on n'a guère vu d'homme qui fût plus habile ouvrier de ressorts et d'intrigues, qui ait acquis plus de gloire que moi dans ce noble métier. (I, 2, p. 413.)

Je voudrais bien que l'on m'eût donné autrefois nos vieillards à duper; je les aurois joués tous deux par-dessous la jambe; et je n'étois pas plus grand que cela, que je me signalais déjà par cent tours d'adresse jolis. (I, 2, p. 419)²⁷

Phormio is perhaps rather proud of having bastinadoed several men nearly to death (vs. 327); but he has not Scapin's professional pride in his skill at culling and duping. Phormio is cynically satisfied with his profession

²⁷Scapin's boastfulness recalls that of the slave, Syrus, in the *Self-Tormentor* of Terence. Syrus boasts that he could handle his master if the occasion should arise: et ne ego te, si usus ueniat, magnifice, Chremes, tractare possim. (vss. 556-557.)

When he hits upon the plan of deceiving with the truth, he boasts thus of his astuteness:

huic equidem consilio palmam do: hic me magnifice efero, qui uim tantam in me et potestatem habeam tantae astutiae, uera dicendo ut eos ambos fallam.

(vss. 709-711.)

of rogue because it feeds him and leaves him free from responsibilities (vss. 330 ff.); but he has none of Scapin's faith in his noble calling, which Scapin says, only the ignorant and vulgar would think of designating as "fourberies." Phormio regards himself as a friend and benefactor to Antipho and Phaedria (vss. 556 ff.). Scapin also calls himself an "homme consolatif" and is interested in helping young people (I, 2). But he looks upon himself as a sort of superman who, out of kindness of heart consents to solve the problems of inferior mortals. Scapin revels in a sense of power. This trait may have been suggested by Phormio, who is willing to take the whole responsibility in undertaking to help Antipho out of his difficulty. A certain pride in his heroism and superior intelligence is implicit in the following lines:

Quid uis, nisi uti maneat Phanium atque ex
crimine hoc

Antiphonem eripiam atque in me omnem iram deriuem
senis? (vss. 322-323.)

The trait, however, is elaborated and becomes more comical in Scapin. Scapin does not forgive Léandre for humiliating him until Léandre is on his knees to the crafty valet, nor can he refrain from pushing his vindication still further by later pretending that he has been unable to procure money for Léandre. When Léandre threatens to commit suicide, he graciously saves him by handing over the money which he has collected from Gêronte. Scapin like Phormio is fond of food. Phormio's gluttony is dwelt upon (vss. 342 ff.). Scapin's is merely hinted at in the last line of the play: "Et moi, qu'on me porte au bout de la table en attendant que je meure." (III, 13.) Like Geta Scapin assumes a pose of solicitude for his dupes: like Geta he is a shameless flatterer. Geta praises Demipho's eloquence and his intelligence (vss. 628-629), while Scapin alludes slyly to Argante's charm for women (I, 4). So Scapin's blishments take a more Gallic and a more amusing form. Thus Phormio and Geta furnish, at most, the cue for Scapin's imperturbability, his boastfulness, and his hypocritical blandishments. But Scapin is neither the cozening slave nor the cynical parasite. He is a much more engaging rogue and one who is attended by a vision of himself as a superior and benevolent person.²⁸

²⁸Humbert maintains that Scapin is more moral than Phormio. Phormio, he says, has been instrumental in bringing about Antipho's marriage, without his father's consent, while Scapin meddles in Octave's affairs only after the marriage has taken place. Humbert is scarcely justified in seeing in this change a deliberate effort, on

Critics do not agree in their conclusions as to the resemblance of Octave and Léandre to their Latin models, Antipho and Phaedria. Despois says: "Les jeunes amoureux des temps antiques ne diffèrent guère des nôtres."²⁹

Humbert says: "L'amour tout sensuel de la comédie payenne s'est changé entre ses mains (i.e. celles de Molière) en un amour chrétien, mutuel, et sans tache."³⁰ Humbert is right to this extent, that Zerbinette is never Léandre's mistress and, in the end, marries him. But Humbert is referring particularly to Octave and Antipho when he makes this statement. He bases his contention on the following arguments: (1) Antipho merely desires Phanium and regrets having to marry her; (2) Antipho has no pity for Phanium's wretchedness and poverty; (3) Antipho is interested only in the physical beauty of Phanium. Octave, on the contrary, he maintains, finds a spiritual charm in Hyacinthe, since he says: "Un si bon naturel . . . un barbare l'auroit aimée." Humbert maintains that this is an addition of Molière's. All three of Humbert's statements are inaccurate. Octave marries Hyacinthe only after the servant, Nérine, has refused him admittance to the house unless he will marry Hyacinthe. The situation is exactly the same in *Phormio*.³¹ It is true that Antipho, in a panic at the thought of his father's return, regrets having married against his father's will:

"ni fuissem incogitans, ita expectarem, ut par fuit."

(vs. 155.)

"Quod utinam ne Phormioni id suadere in mentem incidisset

Neu me cupidum eo inpulisset, quod mihi principiumst mali!" (vss. 157-158.)

Molière's part, to make Scapin more moral than Phormio. Molière perforce omitted Phormio's machinations to bring about the marriage since a point of Athenian law was involved and the scene of Molière's play is in Naples. Humbert argues further that Phormio is more immoral than Scapin since Scapin is Léandre's servant, mistreated by him, while Phormio is a parasite who has never seen the two old men whom he undertakes to dupe in order to eat at their table. Phormio's motives, he says, are selfish, while Scapin's are unselfish. It might be answered that Molière, in making Scapin a valet instead of a parasite, was merely modernizing his play. Moreover, Scapin is willing to dupe the head of the family in which he is a servant in order to help his young master, who mistreats him, conduct that is hardly to be called more moral than Phormio's. Scapin helps Octave and Léandre because he cannot resist the temptation to practice the art in which he is so skillful and because he thereby assumes a rôle which flatters his vanity and gives him a sense of superiority. Both Scapin and Phormio are immoral; but Scapin is the more sympathetic rogue of the two and by far the more amusing. His immorality is more innocent, as it were, because he is attended by a vision of himself in which he appears as a man of superior intelligence, inordinately proud of his skill in his avocation, the noble art of mystifying, tricking, and cozening his masters. For Humbert's discussion of Scapin, see *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²⁹See the Notice in the Hachette edition, VIII, 390.

³⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 18.

³¹See p. 14 of this study.

But he is regretting not so much having married Phanium as having carried out Phormio's suggestions and tricked his father. He believes he could have renounced Phanium with less pain than he is now suffering at the thought of facing his father:

fuisset tum illos mi aegre aliquod dies,
At non cottidiana cura haec angeret animum.
(vss. 159-160.)

When his father's return is reported to him, however, Phanium seems to him more precious than life. The thought that he may be separated from her is unbearable.

Quod si eo meae fortunae redeunt, Phanium, abs te ut
distrahar,
Nullast mihi uita expetenda. (vss. 201-202.)

Molière omits this part of Antipho's rôle, perhaps in order to avoid inconsistency in the character of Octave. To my mind this emotional fluctuation on Antipho's part is in keeping with his timid, and at the same time, impetuous nature. Molière's omission of this bit of subtle psychology is to be regretted. As to Humbert's second argument, Antipho is touched by Phanium's wretchedness. Geta says that the story of Phanium's grief and poverty touched them all: "Commorat omnis nos." (vs. 101.) Moreover the phrase "un si bon naturel," which Humbert ascribes to Molière is a translation of the Latin "uis boni." Geta describing Phanium says:

ni uis boni
In ipsa inesset forma, haec (her ragged clothes, her
tears, etc.) formam extinguere. (vss. 107-108.)

It is true that Geta speaks these words in *Phormio*, while in *les Fourberies* Octave himself speaks them. But, since Molière transfers the whole account of the meeting with the girl from Geta (Silvestre) to Octave (Antipho), it is difficult to see any intention of moral heightening on Molière's part, especially when one considers Scapin's cynical reply to this remark of Octave's: "En effet, cela est touchant; et je vois que ce bon naturel-là vous la fit aimer." (p. 417.) Aside from the one change which I have mentioned, Molière's Octave corresponds exactly to Terence's Antipho. Like Antipho he is timid, timorous, ingenuous, impetuous.

Humbert maintains that Léandre and Octave are better differentiated in *les Fourberies* than in *Phormio*. Léandre, he says, is "d'un naturel hardi,

homme d'action."³² This contention is open to question. Léandre is as dependent on Scapin as Octave, even to the point of begging on his knees for Scapin's help. Phaedria, as a matter of fact, shows more courage than Léandre. It is he that defends Antipho against Demipho's indignation. Moreover, he handles his own affairs with the slave dealer and only calls on Geta for help when Dorio breaks his promise not to sell Pamphila until Phaedria has tried to raise money among his friends. Léandre appeals to Scapin at once. Molière has not made Léandre an outstanding character. He is concerned chiefly with Octave and Scapin.

Silvestre, who corresponds to Geta, has been completely subordinated to Scapin. Most of Geta's rôle has been transferred to Scapin. Silvestre is Scapin's lieutenant. While Geta puts into execution the plans of Phormio, Silvestre merely lends a hand when Scapin needs help. Scapin executes his own plans. Silvestre recalls the Latin slaves only in his fear of a thrashing:

Geta

Seni fidelis dum sum, scapulas
perdi. (vs. 76.)
Ita nunc inparatum subito
tanta te inpendent
mala;
Quae neque uti deuitem scio
neque quo modo me inde
extraham;
Nam non potest celari nostra
diutius iam audacia.
(vss. 180-182.)

Silvestre

Les réprimandes ne sont rien; et plutôt
au ciel que j'en fusse quitte à ce prix!
mais j'ai bien la mine, pour moi, de
payer plus cher vos folies; et je vois
se former, de loin, un nuage de coups
de bâtons qui crèvera sur mes épaules.
(Act I, sc. 1, p. 411.)

Geta fears also for Phormio. Similarly Silvestre advises Scapin not to take vengeance on Géronte.

Geta

O, uir fortis atque amicu's.
uerum hoc saepe,
Phormio,
Vereor, ne istaec fortitudo in
neruom erumpat denique.
(vss. 324-325.)

Silvestre

C'est que je vois que, sans nécessité,
tu vas courir risque de t'attirer une
venue de coups de bâton. (p. 489.)

Argante and Géronte owe less to Demipho and Chremes than Octave does to Antipho. Argante, like Demipho, is irascible and flies into a

³²*Op. cit.*, p. 17.

rage at the news of his son's marriage. Argante, however, is more gullible than Demipho. Demipho never believes the story of the court decree ordering the marriage of Antipho and Phanium, i.e. he never believes Phormio's contention that Phanium's father was his kinsman. Argante readily swallows the story, more plausible, it is true, of Octave's forced marriage. Geta does not succeed in extorting money from Demipho beyond the small amount of the first item in Phormio's budget. Chremes makes up the difference. Demipho is not taken in by Geta's flattery. When Geta reports his conversation with Phormio, in behalf of the "good gentleman," his master, Demipho asks coldly: "quis te istaec iussit loqui?" (vs. 639.) Argante, on the contrary, is clay in Scapin's hands. Scapin successfully combats his avarice by playing upon his cowardice. Cowardice is a trait that we do not find in Demipho. Argante has in common with Demipho his violent temper and his avarice. Molière exaggerates Argante's gullibility and makes him a coward in addition.

Géronte does not resemble Chremes in the least. The comedy of Chremes's rôle lies in the fact that he is the victim of a domineering wife. Géronte's most salient trait is his avarice. Avarice is the stock trait of old men in French comedy of the seventeenth century. In portraying Géronte's avarice, Molière has followed Cyrano's lead rather than Terence's. Demipho's avarice is mentioned by Geta, who says: "Money's his passion" (vs. 70) and is revealed in the scene in which Phormio tries to get money from him. Chremes is not avaricious at all, apparently. Géronte's avarice is revealed in such speeches as the following. Offering to reward Scapin for his solicitude, Géronte says: "Tu seras récompensé, je t'assure. Je te promets cet habit-ci quand je l'aurois un peu usé." (Act III, sc. 2, p. 192.) Torn between anxiety for his son's safety and his reluctance to part with his money, Géronte makes the following suggestion for raising the money to pay the ransom: "Tu iras prendre toutes les hardes qui sont dans cette grande manne et tu les vendras aux fripiers pour aller racheter mon fils." (Act II, sc. 7, p. 430.) Similarly Cyrano has his pedant say: "Va prendre dans mes armoires ce pourpoint découpé que quitta feu mon père l'année du grand hyver."¹⁰ Like Argante, Géronte is a coward; for he readily yields to Scapin's suggestion that he hide in the sack. By thus exaggerating the stupidity, the gullibility, and the avarice of his two old men, and by making them both cowards, Molière makes of them typical

¹⁰Cyrano de Bergerac, "Le Pédant joué," Act II, Scene IV, in V. Fournel, *Les Contemporains de Molière*, III, 393.

characters of farce. This change then is in accord with all the other modifications and additions which Molière makes.

It can hardly be maintained that, in imitating the *Phormio* of Terence, Molière deliberately heightened the moral tone of his model. That his play is superior in technique is certainly true. By dropping Davus and Nausistrata, who existed in the Latin play merely for the sake of the exposition and the dénouement, and by transferring much of Geta's rôle to Scapin, he has achieved a unity that the Latin play lacked. He has enlivened the exposition by having Octave tell his own story to Scapin in order to persuade Scapin to help him, and he has, in the same scene, drawn the characters of Scapin and of Octave. By having Scapin extricate himself from his difficulties, he has made the dénouement less forced and more comical. Indeed, throughout the play, by his original additions, by the scenes incorporated from other sources, and often by a slight change in the material taken from Terence, he has made his play uniformly farcical. If there were no elements of farce in *Phormio*, it might be contended that he has profaned his source. But since there are farcical elements in the Latin play, it would be more nearly accurate to say that he has achieved a unity of tone that the *Phormio* does not have. Moreover, Hyacinthe and Zerbinette are his own creations, and Scapin he has skilfully built up from two characters of the *Phormio* and from the intriguing slave of other comedies of Terence. That his debt to Terence in the matter of details is considerable is evident from my analysis of corresponding scenes. But, since his play is superior in dramaturgy and in comic invention to his model, and since he has altered the tone of the *Phormio* and made his play a farce of pure fantasy, it can hardly be said that his imitation of Terence, in this case, points to any kinship with the Latin playwright that would justify the conclusion that he chose Terence as the most excellent model whom he could imitate. The nature of the imitation in *l'Ecole des maris* is more significant, since this is Molière's first *pièce à thèse*.

CHAPTER II

The Adelphoe and l'Ecole des maris

The *Adelphoe*, formerly thought to be the chief source of *l'Ecole des maris*, has now been relegated by critics to a position of minor importance in the genesis of Molière's play. Three major sources besides the *Adelphoe* have been brought to light. One of these, Dorimond's *la Femme industrielle*, contributed the intrigue of Act II. in which little Terentian influence is apparent. I have, therefore, treated in an appendix the relationship of *l'Ecole des maris* to *la Femme industrielle*. For material formerly attributed to Terence, two sources have been suggested, Pierre de Larivey's *les Esprits* and Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza's *El marido hace mujer*, a Spanish comedy played first in 1643. Critics have accepted the one source or the other without comparing the conflicting sources and without weighing the evidence in favor of each. I propose, by a detailed comparison of *l'Ecole de maris* with the three suggested sources, to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the relative importance of each, and to determine, if possible, the nature and extent of Terence's influence on *l'Ecole des maris*.

The story of Mendoza's play is as follows:

Don Juan, amiable and indulgent, has married Doña Leonor, who is in love with a certain Don Diego. Don Sancho, Juan's younger brother, crusty and severe, has married Doña Juana and proposes to make clear to her his conception of a wife's duty to her husband. At the beginning of the play Juana's ideas of marriage conform more or less to those of her husband. She reproves her sister for her levity just as Juan reproves Sancho for trying to impose "*leyes y preceptos locos*," saying that Juana will be virtuous only because of Sancho's command and not of her own accord. Sancho is determined to be everything rather than to be deceived by his wife. Don Juan maintains that confidence inspires obedience. Sancho meets his servant, Moron, carrying a note from Diego to Leonor. He tries to take the note. Juan interferes, reads the note, gives it back to Moron, and tells Leonor of the incident, but does not say that the note was addressed to her. Leonor, however, guesses the truth and starts to the Prado to meet Don Diego. Juana tries to dissuade her; but, failing, prepares to leave with her. Juan gives Leonor permission to go. Sancho orders Juana to stay at home. Leonor, impressed by Juan's generosity,

resolves to be loyal; Juana, to take vengeance on Sancho. Juana goes to the Prado, where she meets Don Diego and there Sancho points her out to Juan, thinking she is Leonor. Juan returns home. Sancho upbraids Juana (whom he believes to be Leonor) for deceiving his brother, but he thinks Juan well punished for his stupid indulgence. When the entanglement is finally cleared up, an uncle of Juan and Sancho enters as a sort of *deus ex machina* and saves Juana from Sancho's vengeance.

Terence's play also is concerned with two brothers. Demea, who has married and had two sons, Aeschinus and Ctesipho, has lived a frugal and austere life. His brother, Micio, indulgent man of the world, has never married and has lived a life of ease. He has adopted Aeschinus and is rearing him in accordance with his theory that tolerance and faith are more effective with young people than severity. Demea disapproves of Aeschinus's peca-dilloes and fears not only for Aeschinus but for Ctesipho, whom he has reared carefully according to his own theories. He quarrels violently with Micio for being so indulgent with Aeschinus and says he is afraid that Aeschinus will corrupt Ctesipho. He announces to Micio that Aeschinus has broken into a house, beaten the owner, and carried off the girl he loved. In reality, Aeschinus has stolen the girl for Ctesipho and has taken her to Micio's house. Aeschinus is the lover of Sostrata's daughter, Pamphila, and has promised to marry her. Sostrata hears of Aeschinus's escapade and thinks him unfaithful. Hegio, a kinsman of Sostrata, complains of Aeschinus's conduct to Demea. Demea goes in search of Micio. In the meantime Hegio finds Micio and tells him the story of Pamphila's betrayal. Aeschinus goes to Sostrata's house to clear the matter up and there finds Micio, to whom he finally confesses, and is given permission to marry Pamphila. Preparations are made for the wedding. Demea discovers that the cithern-girl is Ctesipho's mistress. He suddenly decides to practice the indulgent philosophy of his brother, not because he believes in it, but because he thinks it will profit him more.¹

¹The story of *les Esprits* is as follows:

Characters	
Hilaire, <i>vieillard</i>	Désiré, <i>amoureux</i>
Elizabet, <i>sa femme</i>	Severin, <i>vieillard</i>
Urbain, <i>amoureux</i>	M. Josse, <i>sorcier</i>
Ruffin, <i>maquereau</i>	Pasquette, <i>servante</i>
Fortuné, <i>amoureux</i>	Gérard, <i>vieillard</i>
Frontin, <i>serviteur de Fortuné</i>	

Hilaire has adopted his brother's son Fortuné, with whom he is most indulgent, holding that children cannot be controlled by force but must be taught to obey through love. His wife remonstrates with him and he replies that if he tried to use severity

with Fortuné his conduct would be much worse. His brother, Severin, miserly countryman, has pursued with his two remaining children, a son and a daughter, the opposite course with the result that Urbain, the son, is living a licentious life unknown to his father. The latter thinks that by keeping Urbain in the country, away from the corruption of the city, he will make him live an austere and virtuous life. His daughter he forces to work on his farm and refuses to give her a dowry. Elizabeth tells Hilaire that she has heard that Fortuné is in love with a nun. Fontin, servant to Fortuné, admits as much to Hilaire, but says that the girl is only a novice placed in the convent against her will. She is rich and the nuns hope to get her property. Hilaire tells Frontin to advise Fortuné to give the girl up. Ruffin, a pander, secures for Urbain a girl, Féliciane, with whom he has fallen in love, for which service he demands ten *écus*. Désiré, in love with Urbain's sister, cannot marry her because his father refuses to allow the marriage unless the girl brings at least 1000 *écus* as dowry.

Severin arrives from the country while Urbain and Féliciane are in his house. Frontin, to keep him from entering, tells him that the house is occupied by devils. Warned by Frontin, Urbain and Féliciane make a great hubbub to keep the old man away. Severin is carrying with him a purse containing 2000 *écus*. Unable to enter his house, he buries it in a hole after dismissing Frontin. Désiré, however, sees him bury the money. When Severin leaves, he steals it, filling the purse with rocks. Frontin promises to get a sorcerer to drive the devils out of Severin's house. Frontin promises M. Josse two *écus* to pretend to chase away the spirits. M. Josse does so. He conjures the spirits, who promise to leave, but as a sign insists on taking a ring away from Severin, who finally submits to being blindfolded and having the ring taken from his finger. Ruffin, who has not been paid by Urbain, reports to Severin that Urbain has stolen his niece and demands reparation. Severin discovers that his purse has been stolen. Hilaire asks Fortuné to give up the novice and Fortuné promises to try to obey him. Severin tells Hilaire of the loss of his money and his ring and of Urbain's escapade, and reproaches him with having led Urbain astray. Pasquette, a servant of Hilaire, reports to him that the novice has had a child by Fortuné. Hilaire arranges a marriage with the consent of the prioress. The father of Urbain's sweetheart returns and gives the girl in marriage to Urbain with a dowry of 5000 *écus*. Urbain gives 1000 as a dowry to his sister and Désiré returns the purse to Severin on the condition that Severin consent to his marriage. Severin consents, being concerned about nothing but his purse.

The story of *l'Ecole des maris* is as follows:

Ariste, Molière's philosopher of indulgence and easy-going acceptance, and his severe brother, Sganarelle, have been made guardians of Léonor and Isabelle respectively, with the understanding that they will some day marry them. Sganarelle has set to work to train Isabelle to tread the straight and narrow path of the dutiful wife of an anti-social and old-fashioned husband who does not want to wear horns if he can help it. Isabelle loves Valère and conveys the fact to him through Sganarelle himself, who thinks he is reporting to Valère Isabelle's reproaches for his flirtation. Fearing that her plan has miscarried, Isabelle pretends that Valère has thrown into her window a box containing a note, and asks Sganarelle to return it unopened to Valère. In the note she tells Valère that she loves him and asks what his intentions are. Valère tells Sganarelle that before he knew that Isabelle was Sganarelle's fiancée, he had hoped to marry her. Sganarelle reports this to Isabelle, who then plans to

suggest an elopement to Valère by pretending to Sganarelle that Valère has already attempted to abduct her. Sganarelle again reproves Valère and offers to bring him and Isabelle together so that Isabelle can tell him herself what she thinks of his attentions. She manages to convey to Valère that he must save her from Sganarelle by marrying her at once. Sganarelle decides to marry her at once himself. Isabelle tells Sganarelle that Léonor loves Valère and has persuaded her to allow her to talk to him disguised as Isabelle. Isabelle goes to Valère's house. Sganarelle, seeing her, thinks it is Léonor, and follows. He gets a notary to marry them. Then he goes for Ariste, whom he twits by quoting ironically the arguments that Ariste has used in attempting to convert him. Léonor appears and Ariste reproaches her. As she protests, Isabelle enters and asks her forgiveness for having made use of her name in order to deceive Sganarelle. Sganarelle, not at all convinced that his policy has been the cause of his defeat, concludes that all women are deceitful and ungrateful.

It is evident from the analysis of the plots that superficially, *El marido hace mujer* would seem to be the most important of the three suggested sources. This play deals with two young women instead of two young men, as does Molière's play. These two young women are the wives of the two brothers who hold contrasting views of a husband's proper attitude towards his wife. In the *Adelphoe* and in *les Esprits*, the young men are the sons of the severe brother and one of the young men has been adopted by the indulgent brother. In *l'Ecole des maris*, the two brothers are the guardians and fiancés of the two young women, a situation apparently much closer to that in the Spanish play, but still a situation which would obviously enable Molière to use material from all three of the suggested sources. This superficial resemblance of the plot of *l'Ecole des maris* to that of *El marido hace mujer* has led critics to believe that the Spanish play is, indeed, the chief source of Molière's play. This view was the more readily accepted because, even before the appearance of M. Martinenche's article on the Spanish sources of *l'Ecole des maris*,² there had been a tendency to minimize the importance of the *Adelphoe* as a source of *l'Ecole des maris*. A brief summary of the trend of criticism will serve to show the attitude, past and present, toward the question of Terentian influence in *l'Ecole des maris*.

²"Les Sources de *l'Ecole des maris*," *Revue d'histoire littéraire*. V (1898), 110-116. The material in this article was afterwards incorporated in M. Martinenche's book, *Molière et le théâtre espagnol* (Paris, 1910).

The *Adelphoe* had early been pointed out as a source of *l'Ecole des maris*.³ Moland and Despois, editors of Molière, accord Terence credit at least for the contrast between the characters of the two brothers, and for their contrasting systems of education: in short, for the central idea, the thesis of *l'Ecole des maris*. Moland says:

La comédie des *Adelphes*, de Térence, a fourni d'abord le contraste des deux frères, des deux tuteurs, dont l'un est sévère et bourru, et l'autre bienveillant et indulgent.⁴

He then quotes the opening scene of the *Adelphoe* in which Micio, in a long monologue, explains his philosophy of education and complains of the opposition of his brother and continues:

Voilà bien l'idée principale qui se retrouve dans *l'Ecole des maris*. Mais Molière, en substituant deux jeunes filles aux deux jeunes gens des *Adelphes*, et l'intérêt vif et piquant des deux tuteurs amoureux à celui d'un père et d'un oncle, a rendu sa composition plus comique. Il a de plus donné une conclusion à sa comédie: tandis que Térence s'est contenté de faire sentir le vice des deux systèmes opposés, mais également dangereux, et qu'il punit à la fois l'indulgence et la rigueur, Molière renferme son dénouement et sa moralité dans le fruit que chacun des frères recueille de sa façon d'agir. (The italics are mine).

Despois grants still less of a debt to Terence than Moland:

C'est aux *Adelphes* de Térence que Molière a emprunté l'idée de *l'Ecole des maris*; dans cette pièce, imitée d'ailleurs de Ménandre, le poète latin introduit deux frères qui ont, sur l'éducation à donner à leurs enfants, des principes tout opposés; l'un croit qu'on ne saurait être trop indulgent pour la jeunesse, l'autre qu'on doit se montrer sévère et ne rien lui passer. Mais la ressemblance se borne là. D'abord, dans les *Adelphes*, c'est sur deux jeunes garçons que se fait cette double épreuve; et de plus elle aboutit à peu près au même résultat: les deux jeunes gens tournent assez mal. Puis, Térence n'a pas opposé un sage comme l'Ariste de Molière à un sot comme Sganarelle et il semble avoir voulu montrer que les deux systèmes ont à peu près les mêmes inconvénients. Baron, en imitant plus tard les *Adelphes* a intitulé sa pièce *l'Ecole des pères*, et ce titre suffirait pour indiquer que l'intérêt de la pièce antique est fort différent de celui qui fait le fond de *l'Ecole des maris*. On voit que les obligations de Molière à l'égard de Térence se réduisent à bien peu de chose; et l'on pourrait

³L. Bordelon, "Dialogue critique dans les Champs Elisées," *Diversitez curieuses pour servir de récréation à l'esprit* (Amsterdam, 1699), IX, 54-67.

⁴Molière, *Oeuvres*, ed. Moland, IV, 54.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

même douter qu'il lui eût emprunté l'idée de contraste au lieu de l'aller chercher dans l'observation du monde réel, si quelques imitations de détail, *fort rares d'ailleurs*, ne prouvaient que Molière en composant sa pièce, s'est souvenu du poète latin.⁶ (The italics are mine.)

Mahrenholtz is chiefly concerned with corresponding characters. He maintains that Ariste and Sganarelle resemble but slightly Micio and Demea. Ariste's principles, he says, come from mature experience; Micio's from weakness. Ariste is always trying to convert his brother, while Micio is always on the defensive. Ariste has led a moral life while Micio, he maintains, has the vices of the Roman aristocracy. He calls Micio an epicurean without any fixed moral principles. Sganarelle also, he maintains, is different from Demea. They are both miserly, unlovable enemies of all that makes life beautiful, but Sganarelle exaggerates his principles until they are the narrowest moral strictness. Demea opposes to the lax principles of his brother and his pernicious influence over his own son the strong morality of a simple life unacquainted with the ways of the city. Demea, since with costly irony he adopts his brother's teaching and exaggerates it to the point of being ridiculous, carries off the palm. Aeschinus declares in his name and his brother's that they henceforward wish to live according to Demea's principles. Mahrenholtz, then, does not believe that Demea undergoes a sincere change of heart in the end, but that his plan of exaggerating Micio's policy of indulgence successfully demonstrates the folly of the system of indulgence.⁷

Wolff, on the other hand, believes that Demea is metamorphosed into a generous and indulgent father, and yet, inconsistently enough, maintains that the thesis of the *Adelphoe* is the futility of both systems.⁸ In 1898 M. Martinenche brought to light a Spanish play which he considers the chief source of *l'Ecole des maris*. He contends that the first and third acts, acts formerly thought to be based on Terence's play, are drawn from *El Marido hace mujer*, a comedy of Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza played at Madrid in 1643.⁹

According to M. Martinenche, Molière could have got only one idea from the *Adelphoe*, namely that of the contrasting characters of the

⁶Molière, *Oeuvres*, Hachette ed., II, 339.

⁷"Molière und die römische Komödie," Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, LVI (1876), 241-264.

⁸Max J. Wolff, *Molière: der Dichter und sein Werk*, (München, without date), pp. 246, 487.

⁹"Les Sources de *l'Ecole des maris*," *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, V (1898), 110-116).

brothers, and he did not find it in Terence says M. Martinenche, but in Mendoza.

Et la seule idée que Molière pouvait emprunter aux *Adelphes*, l'antithèse chez les deux frères de la douceur bienveillante et de la sévérité grondeuse, c'est certainement chez Mendoza qu'il l'a rencontrée.¹⁰ (The italics are mine.)

M. Michaut accepts M. Martinenche's conclusions. He says:

Dans les *Adelphes* de Térence se trouvaient déjà opposés deux systèmes d'éducation, la méthode de sévérité et la méthode d'indulgence. Or il n'est pas douteux que Molière n'ait lu Térence: il l'avait particulièrement cultivé dès le collège et même, dit la Préface de 1682, choisi "comme le plus excellent modèle qu'il eût à se proposer;" d'ailleurs quelques imitations de détails attestent qu'il avait présent à l'esprit le souvenir des *Adelphes*. Mais Térence a pris pour sujet l'éducation de jeunes garçons, et, si quelque enseignement ressort de sa comédie, c'est que les deux systèmes opposés ne sont pas meilleurs l'un que l'autre, puisque tous deux font faillite.¹¹ (The italics are mine.)

Finally, M. Michaut gives credit to Mendoza for Acts I and III of *l'Ecole des maris*:

On voit dès lors comment Molière a construit sa pièce. Il a procédé par contamination, comme les comiques latins. Mendoza lui a fourni ses actes I et III, Dorimond son acte II; et, par une espèce de symbole, il a emprunté à Mendoza le nom d'une de ses héroïnes, Léonor, à Dorimond, le nom de l'autre, Isabelle.¹²

Guido Wenzel, in an article on Larivey's influence on Molière, gives Larivey credit for the central idea of *l'Ecole des maris*:

Die "Esprits" lieferten ihm (Molière) die Sujets zu zwei seinen besseren Komödien, zur "Ecole des maris" und zum "Avare." Die Idee der Männer-schule ist schon sehr alt; Plautus und Terenz hatten sich bereits dieses Stoffes bemächtigt, nach ihnen die Italiener und dan wieder Larivey. Molières Stück hat mit den Lariveyschen "Esprits" in Bezug auf Gang, Handlung, Darstellung einzelner Szenen gar nichts gemein. Nur die Grundidee, die verschiedenfache Erziehung zweier jungen Männer durch zwei Brüder ungleichen Characters, nahm Molière auf.¹³

Wenzel makes no attempt to prove that Molière took his subject from Larivey rather than from Terence. He merely calls attention to the similarity of theme. Moreover, he states that there is no imitation of detail

¹⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹¹*Op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹³*Op. cit.*, p. 74.

and no debt in the matter of intrigue. M. Michaut dismisses the question of Larivey's influence in one sentence: "Molière a pu lire les *Esprits* de Larivey; mais il n'y aura rien trouvé qui ne fût déjà dans Térence."¹⁴

In order to determine the extent of Terence's influence on *l'Ecole des maris*, then, one must first settle the question of the relative importance of *El marido hace mujer* and the *Adelphoe* as sources of Molière's philosophy of education. The following arguments have been advanced to show the insignificance of the Terentian influence and to prove that Molière used the Spanish play as the basis of *l'Ecole des maris*:

(1) Since both Terence's young men turn out rather badly, he advocated neither the system of indulgence nor that of severity. He shows, rather, a pessimistic view of human nature.

(2) The subject of Terence's play is very different from that of Molière's. It is a school for fathers, not for husbands. It deals with the education of two young men, quite a different thing from the education of two young women. Mendoza's play offers the situation of two young women under the guardianship of two men whose views are opposed and shows the downfall of severity and the triumph of tolerance, exactly the situation in Molière's play.

(3) The only hint that Molière could have got from Terence's play is the contrast between the ill-tempered Puritan and the bland man of the world, a contrast that Molière took assuredly, maintains Martinenche, from Mendoza.

(4) The two brothers in Molière's play resemble more closely the two brothers of Mendoza's play than those of the *Adelphoe*. Micio is less admirable than Ariste and Demea more so than Sganarelle. Mahrenholtz, for instance, says that Ariste's principles come from mature experience, Micio's from weakness. Ariste is always trying to convert his brother, whereas Micio is always on the defensive. Ariste has led a moral life, while Micio has the vices of the Roman aristocracy.¹⁵

Terence's nihilism, emphasized by students of Molière, is open to question. The following comment of Wolff states explicitly the idea that is implicit in the contention of French critics that Micio's system, as well as Demea's is a failure:

¹⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 119.

¹⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 245.

Er (Molière) folgt dem pessimistischen Terenz nicht, der zum Schluss die milde wie die strenge Verhandlung verwirft, da die menschliche Natur schlecht sei und nicht gebessert werden könne. Für den optimistischen modernen Dichter bedeute die Natur das Gute.¹⁶

This argument is based on a misinterpretation of Terence. It is significant that another critic, dealing only with the Latin author, has a different point of view. To him the system of indulgence seems to triumph in Terence's play. Aeschinus he looks upon as a sympathetic and admirable character.

Aeschinus in the *Adelphoe* is a generous, frank, strong character, of a bold self-reliance, yet modest. He makes the most admirable picture of all of Terence's young men. He adores his adopted father, has a deep affection for his brother, is beloved by the slaves, and yet, with these graces, he is self-reliant and can take a hand in a difficult situation as Sannio, the slave-merchant, learns to his sorrow.¹⁷

But the evidence in the play itself that Terence meant Aeschinus to be sympathetic is convincing enough. Micio says:

Quae ego inesse in illis uideo, ut confidam fore
Ita ut uolumus. uideo eos sapere, intellegere, in loco
Vereri, inter se amare: seiris liberum
Ingenium atque animum: quo uis illos tu die
Redducas. (vss. 826-830.)

Canthara finds Aeschinus:

"Talem, tali ingenio atque animo, natum ex tanta
familia." (vs. 297.)

Aeschinus repents of not having taken his father into his confidence. The effect of Micio's sympathetic attitude he describes thus:

Itaque adeo magnam mi inicit sua commoditate curam,
Ne imprudens faciam forte quod nolit. (vss. 710, 711.)

Donatus, in his preface to the *Adelphoe*, describes Aeschinus as consistently "liberalis."¹⁸ From this evidence I think I am justified in concluding that Terence advocated, as did Molière, the system of indulgence. The question remains, could Molière have got this idea from *El marido hace mujer* rather than from Terence? Yes and no. Leonor of the Spanish

¹⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 246.

¹⁷G. Kenneth G. Henry, "The Characters of Terence," (University of North Carolina) *Studies in Philology*, XII (1915), 70.

¹⁸*Commentum Terenti*, ed. Wessner (Leipsig, 1905), II, 8.

play, like Molière's Léonor, like Terence's Aeschinus, touched by Don Juan's kindness, resolves to do nothing to displease him. But in the Spanish play there is a complete change in both Juana and Leonor as a result of their treatment at the hands of their respective husbands. Leonor renounces Don Diego, whom she loves, while Juana seeks him without being in love with him. It is a commonplace of Spanish drama that women are naturally perverse and will do what they are forbidden to do. Hence the failure of Sancho's system. Molière, had he wanted to preach the same philosophy as the Spanish playwright, would have made Léonor the fiancée of Sganarelle. Molière puts the Spanish satire of women's perversity into the mouth of Lisette and that of Sganarelle, who, in his rage at the failure of his carefully laid plans, attributes his undoing to the perversity of women, and his final speech is intended to make the spectators laugh at his blindness and extravagance, his incorrigibility.

Molière like Terence was thoroughly out of sympathy with the idea that character can be moulded at will by outside influence whether it be kind or severe. He maintains only that to try to chase away the natural is to make it return at a gallop. It has been asked what Ariste would have done if Léonor, not Isabelle, had been in love with Valère. This is exactly the situation as we find it in the Spanish play. He would hardly have hoped to change her completely, as Juan did Leonor. Indeed, Ariste says himself:

Un ordre paternel l'oblige à m'épouser;
 Mais mon dessein n'est pas de la tyranniser.
 Je sais bien que nos ans ne se rapportent guère,
 Et je laisse à son choix liberté tout entière.

Et j'aime mieux la voir sous un autre hyménée
 Que si contre son gré sa main m'étoit donnée.

(vss.197-200, 207-208.)

And when he thinks she is in love with Valère, he is willing to have her marry him. Ariste's system is, after all, no system at all, in that he has no intention of changing to suit himself the character or the conduct of Léonor. Neither Molière nor Terence could have such faith in the efficacy of systems, of which both are inclined to be skeptical, a skepticism well illustrated by *l'Ecole des femmes*. Arnolphe's helplessness at the hands of two youngsters is, I believe, the chief interest of *l'Ecole des femmes*. Uranie in *la Critique* says:

Pour moi, je trouve que la beauté du sujet de *l'Ecole des femmes* consiste dans cette confidence perpetuelle; et ce qui me paroît plaisant, c'est qu'un homme qui a de l'esprit, et qui est averti de tout par une innocente qui est sa maîtresse, et par un étourdi qui est son rival, ne puisse avec cela éviter ce qui lui arrive.¹⁹

This play is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the idea that one individual can bend another's character to his will. Yet both Molière and Terence trust human nature. Micio says, speaking to Demea of his two sons:

seiris liberum
Ingenium atque animum: quo uis illos tu die
Redducas. (vss. 828-830.)

It has been contended that not only is Molière's view of human nature much more optimistic than Terence's but that the subject is fundamentally different from that of the *Adelphoe*, since *l'Ecole des maris* is a school for husbands while the *Adelphoe* is a school for fathers. This appears to be a well justified point until one examines certain verbal echoes of Terence's play in that of Molière. Very important, it seems to me, are the following parallel passages:

Micio
et tu illum tuom, si
esses homo,
Sineres nunc facere, dum per
aetatem licet,
Potius quam, ubi te expectatum
eiecisset foras,
Alienior aetate post faceret
tamen. (vss. 107-110.)

(And if you were flesh and blood you would allow that son of yours to do it now, while his youth makes it reasonable, rather than have him look forward to *tumbling your corpse out of doors* and then at a less fitting time of life run riot for all your care.)

Ariste
Je ne suivrois jamais ces
maximes sévères
Qui font que *les enfants*
comptent les jours des
pères. (vss. 211-212.)

This echo of Terence in Molière proves one of two things. Either Molière was stressing the relation of guardian rather than that of husband, or he was following the text of Terence so closely and hurriedly that he failed to notice the inappropriateness of this line for his subject. The first

¹⁹Molière, *Oeuvres*, Hachette ed., III, 364.

explanation seems more probable in the light of the following passages. Ariste like Micio is generous and is willing to indulge his ward's whims.

Micio

Obsonat, potat, olet unguenta:
de meo;
Amat: dabitur a me argentum,
dum erit commodum;
.....
Est unde haec fiant, et adhuc
non molesta sunt,
(vss. 117-118, 122.)

Ariste

J'ai souffert qu'elle ait vu
les belles compagnies,
Les divertissements, les bals,
les comédies;
Ce sont choses, pour moi, que
je tiens de tous temps
Fort propres à former l'esprit
des jeunes gens;
Elle aime à dépenser en habits,
linge et noeuds.
Que voulez-vous? Je tâche à
contenter ses vœux.
Et ce sont des plaisirs qu'on
peut, dans nos fa-
milles
Lorsque l'on a du bien, permettre
aux jeunes filles.
(vss. 187-190, 193-196.)

Ariste and Micio have an attitude of worldly tolerance towards the frivolity of Léonor and of Aeschinus:

Micio

Non est flagitium, mihi crede,
adulescentulum
Scortari, neque potare: non
est. (vss. 101-102.)

Ariste

Des moindres libertés, je n'ai
point fait des crimes.
(vs. 184.)

This indulgence is based on a knowledge of the world and a faith in human nature:

Micio

Homine imperito numquam
quicquam iniustiust,
Qui nisi quod ipse fecit nil
rectum putat.
(vss. 98-99.)

Ariste

Et l'école du monde en l'air
dont il faut vivre
Instruit mieux, à mon gré,
que ne fait aucun
livre.
(vss. 191-192.)

Micio makes three points: (1) The peccadilloes of his son are not heinous crimes. (2) Since he is opulent, he sees no harm in indulging him. (3) By indulging Aeschinus, he is allowing him to get a knowledge of the world. Ariste follows his argument point by point. Only the details are

changed to fit the situation in *l'Ecole des maris*. This close parallelism in the exposition of a philosophy of education would seem to indicate that Molière was not aware that his subject was so different from that of Terence. It is perhaps Terence's worldly point of view that has led critics to say that Terence is convinced of the futility of both systems; rather, it is the failure to understand this worldly point of view. Aeschinus's escapades do not convince Micio that Aeschinus's character is despicable. He sees only the natural peccadilloes of youth, though Aeschinus does at times try his patience. Ariste expresses the same view of Léonor's frivolity.

Ariste, like Micio, does not believe in the efficacy of outward force to bend one individual to another's will. He trusts the loyalty and affection of the free individual:

Micio

Pudore et liberalitate liberos
Retinere satius esse credo quam
metu. (vss. 57-58.)
Et errat longe mea quidem sententia,
Qui imperium credat grauius
esse aut stabilius,
Vi quod fit, quam illud quod
amicitia adiungitur.
(vss. 65-67.)

Ariste

C'est l'honneur qui les doit
tenir dans le devoir
Non la sévérité que nous leur
faisons voir.
(vss. 169-170.)
C'est une étrange chose, à
vous parler sans
feinte.
Qu'une femme qui n'est sage
que par contrainte.
En vain sur tous ses pas nous
prétendons régner:
Je trouve que le coeur est ce
qu'il faut gagner.
(vss. 171-174.)

Both Micio and Ariste think that tyranny is a precarious and, at best, a temporary curb:

Micio

Malo coactus qui suum officium
facit,
Dum id rescitum iri credit,
tantisper pauet;
Si sperat fore clam, rursum ad
ingenium redit.
(vss. 69-71.)

Ariste

Et je ne tiendrois, moi, quel-
que soin qu'on se
donne,
Mon honneur guère sûr, aux
mains d'une personne
A qui dans les désirs qui
pourroient l'assail-
lir,
*Il ne manqueroit rien qu'un
moyen de faillir.*
(vss. 175-178.)

The Spanish play offers somewhat similar passages:

Don Juan: La mujer que más se muestra
Flaca, cuando va a perderse,
Firme suele mantenerse
En la confianza nuestra;
Mas si con desconfianza
La tratamos, *vengativa*,
Todo lo arrastra y derriba,
Hasta la misma esperanza.

(p. 423.)

Don Juan: Y ved, hermano, por Dios,
Que la ofendéis, pues así
Lo que ella hiciera por sí
Creeréis que lo hará por vos.
Quitaisle en tan flaca muestra
Una gloria, en que os arguya
Que a lo que es decencia suya
Llamaréis prevencion vuestra.

(p. 423.)

It is to be noted, however, that Terence and Molière emphasize the futility of trying to cross a person's natural bent, while Mendoza stresses the perversity of women, who are determined not to be what their husbands wish them to be. Don Juan says also:

Vos no queréis entenderlo
Que es decir a una mujer
Todo lo que no ha de hacer
Decirla que puede hacerlo.

(p. 423.)

There is an echo of this idea in Molière, not in *Ariste*, but in a speech of *Lisette's*:

Lisette: C'est nous inspirer presque un désir de pécher
Que montrer tant de soins de nous en empêcher.

(vss. 157-158.)

This idea may therefore be considered rather as characteristic of *Lisette* than as expressing the author's philosophy. In the Spanish play Don Juan voices this sentiment and Don Juan is the mouthpiece of the author. *Léonor*, to be sure, hints that she agrees with *Lisette*, but the idea is not elaborated.²⁰

²⁰⁴⁴*Léonor*: Mais je sais ce qu'en moi feroit la défiance." (vs. 139.)

Sganarelle, like Sancho, believes that character is made, not born:

Sancho
Cualquiera, no como nace,
Como vive, tiene el nombre,
La sangre es tiempo perdido,
El marido hace mujer.
(p. 431.)

Sganarelle
Ma foi, les filles sont ce
que l'on les fait
être.²¹
(vs. 511.)

But see also the *Adelphoe*, verse 399, where Syrus says ironically to Demea, whom he is duping: "Syrus: Vt quisque suum uult esse, itast." Both Sganarelle and Sancho are defeated and duped. In this respect the Spanish play seems to coincide with Terence and Molière. But, as I have pointed out, no complete change of heart is effected in Terence or in Molière, while both Juana and Leonor about-face and, after all, as Juana says, "*el marido hace mujer*"; but not the exacting husband, the indulgent one. Not only Sancho, then, but also Juan and Juana believe that character can be moulded at will. The subtitle of Mendoza's play is "*El trato muda costumbre.*" At the end of the play, Juana announces the moral of the play, "*El marido hace mujer.*" She means, of course, that tolerance and trust bring the desired results, while tyranny and suspicion defeat themselves. Molière's play points to the latter moral, perhaps, but Sganarelle's treatment does not effect a complete change for the worse in Isabelle, while neither Micio nor Ariste expresses any such optimistic view of the system of indulgence as is set forth in the Spanish play. Despite the apparent agreement, then, of Sganarelle's attitude with Sancho's, Molière is following Terence rather than Mendoza.

Molière's philosophy of education, far from differing radically from Terence's, as critics have maintained, follows Terence's point by point. Neither Terence nor Molière believes that a person's whole character can be changed by the treatment which he receives from those in whose control he finds himself. Both believe that the best in his nature can be brought out by indulgence and confidence. Undue restraint of his natural inclinations does not rid him of these inclinations but leads to the surreptitious indulgence of them. In the Spanish play, on the other hand, Juan believes that trust is the best policy towards women, who become vindictive if they are the victims of tyranny. Juan's indulgence towards Leonor effects in her a complete change of heart; while Sancho's severity results in quite as complete a change in Juana, but in the other direction. Neither Ariste's

²¹Noted by Martinenche.

nor Micio's policy brings about any such miracle: Sganarelle's system fails as does Sancho's, and as does Demea's, for that matter. But Molière does not push his thesis so far as Mendoza: for Sancho's severity changes Juana's attitude of submission to one of rebellion and drives her into a flirtation with a man whom she does not love. Moreover, Ariste's views of education are all expressed from the point of view of a guardian rather than of a fiancé or husband. Juan, on the other hand, is interested only in the question of a husband's attitude towards a wife. Indulgence seems to him the best means of avoiding betrayal, because women held in subjection become vindictive and delight in disobedience.

Molière's philosophy of education is, then, that of Terence, rather than that of Mendoza. Since Hilaire, in *les Esprits*, however, advances the same theories of education as Micio, the question arises: Did Molière get his material indirectly from Terence through Larivey?²² Hilaire discusses his theories with his wife, Elizabet, who is not altogether unsympathetic with Hilaire's policy. In *l'Ecole des maris*, two brothers, holding views diametrically opposed argue with some acerbity. Thus the situation in *les Esprits* is different from that in *l'Ecole des maris*.

Larivey takes his theories of education from Micio's long monologue at the beginning of the *Adelphoe*. Molière also uses material from this monologue; but, in addition, he imitates the dialogue between Micio and Demea which constitutes the rest of Act I of the *Adelphoe*. In this scene Micio and Demea argue, with a great deal of heat on Demea's part, about the education of Demea's two sons. Besides the similarity of situation, there is a verbal parallelism which leaves no doubt that Molière followed this scene in the construction of Act I of his play. Since Larivey does not use this scene or take any material from it, Molière must have got his material directly from Terence.

It is possible that he knew *les Esprits*; but, at most, this play suggested only one or two points in the structure of Act I. *L'Ecole des maris* is closer to *les Esprits* than to the *Adelphoe* in one respect. Severin instead of reproaching Hilaire with ruining the son whom he (Hilaire) has adopted, accuses him of corrupting the son whom he himself has reared. Similarly, Sganarelle accuses Ariste and Léonor of corrupting Isabelle. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that this point shows any influence of *les Esprits*. The idea is already in Terence, since Demea calls Micio the

²²Larivey's play is a translation of an Italian play, which, in turn, is based on the *Adelphoe* of Terence and the *Aulularia* of Plautus.

corrupting spirit of both his sons. (vss. 792-793.) The change, moreover, was imposed on Molière by the difference in situation in his play. Aeschinus is Demea's own son. Sganarelle has no claim on Léonor. He cannot interfere with Ariste's treatment of his own ward.

The thesis of *l'Ecole des maris*, then, is the same as that of the *Adelphoe*, and Molière took his exposition of a system of education directly from Terence. Ariste's philosophy corresponds exactly to Micio's. *El marido hace mujer* contributed only the idea that tyranny begets in women the desire to sin, an idea which is the thesis of the Spanish play. Molière, by having Lisette and not Ariste, express this idea, makes of it merely a minor theme in his play, and appropriately so, since his Isabelle does not deceive Sganarelle and flirt with Valère through sheer perversity and in a spirit of vengeance, as does Juana in the Spanish play.

The parallelism between Molière's exposition of Ariste's theories of education and that of Micio's theories in the *Adelphoe* would alone be enough to refute M. Michaut's statements that Molière merely "avait présent à l'esprit le souvenir des *Adelphes*" and that he constructed Act I of *l'Ecole des maris* with material drawn from *El marido hace mujer*.²³ The question remains: What contribution did the *Adelphoe* make to the rest of *l'Ecole des maris* and what material did Molière take from *El marido*? What is the relative importance of the *Adelphoe* and *El marido hace mujer* as sources of *l'Ecole des maris* aside from the theme of the play?

In addition to the passages dealing with the contrasting views of education, there are other reminiscences of Terence in *l'Ecole des maris* which, while less significant than those which I have already pointed out, show that Molière was following the text of the Latin play much more closely than critics would have us believe. Micio protests against Demea's meddling in his rearing of Aeschinus. Molière, reversing the rôles, has Sganarelle protest in somewhat similar terms against Ariste's objections to his policy:

Micio

uerum, Demea,
Curemus aequam uterque partem:
tu alterum,
Ego item alterum.
(vss. 129-131.)

Sganarelle

D'élever celle-là vous pêtes
le souci,
Et moi, je me chargeai du soin
de celle-ci;
Selon vos volontés vous gou-
vernez la vôtre;

²³*Op. cit.*, pp. 118, 120.

Micio

Sganarelle

Laissez-moi, je vous prie, à
mon gré régir l'autre.

(vss. 105-108.)

The Spanish play offers a similar passage. It is closer to the passage in *l'Ecole des maris* in that Sancho (Sganarelle) protests against Juan's meddling:

Discretísimo señor,
Seguid vos lo confiado,
Yo lo temido, y verémos
Quién hace de ambos extremos
El suyo mas desdichado.

(p. 423.)

But the words of the French are closer to the Latin.

Sganarelle, like Demea, fears that his own ward will be corrupted by associating with his brother's ward:

Demea

Id misero restat mihi mali,
si illum potest,
Qui aliquoi reist etiam, eum
ad nequitiam adducere.
(vss. 357-358.)

Sganarelle

Oui, vous me la gâtez, puis-
qu'il faut parler net.
Vos visites ici ne font que
me déplaire,
Et vous m'obligerez de ne nous
en plus faire.
(vss. 134-136.)

Sganarelle proposes to take Isabelle to the country to avoid the corrupting influence of association with Léonor:

" Isabelle pourroit perdre dans ces hantises
Les semences d'honneur qu'avec nous elle a prises.
Et pour l'en empêcher, dans peu nous prétendons
Lui faire aller revoir nos choux et nos dindons.²⁴
(vss. 259-260.)

The fact that Sganarelle lives in the country, as revealed by his reference to "our cabbages and turkeys," is rather surprising, since the rest of the

²⁴There is a phrase in *les Esprits* of which this verse may be an echo. Hilaire says that Severin deliberately keeps Urbain in the country because of the corruption of the city. Désiré, describing the life Laurence leads in the country, says: "Ainsi elle usera inutilement sa jeunesse en lieu champêtre entre les boeufs et les moutons." Pierre de Larivey, "Les Esprits," *Ancien Théâtre François*, V, 221. But since Demea also lives in the country and fears the corrupting influence of the city on his son, one would hardly be justified in seeing here any influence of Larivey, especially since this is the only hint of verbal similarity in the two plays.

play seems to indicate that he lives in the city. Terence gives the information about Demea's life in the country in Micio's monologue in the opening scene of the play. Molière begins his play with a dialogue between Sganarelle and Ariste. While he incorporates in this dialogue some of Micio's views, as expressed in the monologue, he has presumably forgotten to inform us that Sganarelle lives in the country. He inconsistently utilizes here the reference to Demea's life in the country.

When Micio protests against Demea's interference with his rearing of Aeschinus, Demea flies into a rage and tells Micio to let Aeschinus be ruined if he wishes: he will no longer meddle. He adds that he will look after Ctesipho, who is a son after his own heart. Similarly Sganarelle angrily tells Ariste to let Léonor be as frivolous as she pleases; it is no concern of his; but that he intends to follow his own system with regard to Isabelle:

Demea

si tibi istuc placet,
Profundat perdat pereat, nil
ad me attinet.
(vss. 133-134.)

.....

Vnum uis curem; curo; et est
dis gratia,
Quom ita ut uolo est.
(vss. 138-139.)

Sganarelle

J'y consens; qu'elle coure,
aime l'oisiveté
Et soit des damoiseaux fleurée
en liberté:
J'en suis fort satisfait.
Mais j'entends que la
mienne
Vive à ma fantaisie, et non
pas à la sienne.
(vss. 113-116.)

Like Demea, Sganarelle thinks his brother's household quite mad:

Demea

O Iuppiter,
Hancine uitam! hoscine mores!
hanc dementiam!
Vxor sine dote ueniet; intus
psaltriast;
Domus sumptuosa; adulescens
luxu perditus;
Senex delirans, ipsa si
cupiat Salus,
Seruare prorsus non potest
hanc familiam.
(vss. 757-762.)

Sganarelle

Quelle belle famille! Un
vieillard insensé
Qui fait le dameret dans un
corps tout cassé;
Une fille maîtresse et co-
quette suprême;
Des valets impudents; non,
la Sagesse même
Ne viendrait pas à bout, per-
droit sens et raison
A vouloir corriger une telle
maison.
(vss. 253-258.)

These protests of one brother against the meddling of the other, the fear on the part of Sganarelle, like Demea, that his brother's ward will exert a bad influence on his own ward, and the despair of Demea and Sganarelle over the corruption of their brothers' households, have little direct bearing on the thesis of the play and little significance as regards the characters. But this insignificance only serves to make the parallelism more striking and to point to the conclusion that Molière was using the text of the *Adelphoe* as the basis of his play. This conclusion is strengthened by another imitation of detail. The situation and the words are different, but the structure of the verse, the pattern, so to speak, of the two passages is so obviously the same that even Despois, who is inclined to minimize the Terentian influence, calls attention to the similarity. Demea, erroneously supposing the cithern-girl to be Aeschinus's mistress, and having heard of Aeschinus's betrayal of Pamphila, sees in Aeschinus's immorality and disloyalty the result of Micio's indulgence and asks Micio how he intends to handle the situation. Micio, himself under the same misapprehension as Demea and at heart very much discouraged at the apparent failure of his policy towards Aeschinus, will not, however, admit defeat and baits Demea by pretending a *sang-froid* which he does not feel. Sganarelle inquires of Ariste if he intends to pursue the same policy of lenience with Léonor after they are married. Ariste replies in good faith that he does:

Demea

Quid igitur facies?

Micio

Domi erit.

Demea

Pro diuom fidem,

Meretrix et mater familias una
in domo?

Micio

Quor non?

Demea

Sanum te credis esse?

Micio

Equidem arbitror.

Demea

Ita me di ament, ut uideo ego
tuam ineptiam,

Facturum credo, ut habeas
quicum cantites.

Micio

Quor non?

Sganarelle

Quoi? si vous l'épousez, elle
pourra prétendre

Les mêmes libertés que fille
on lui voit prendre?

Ariste

Pourquoi non?

Sganarelle

Vos désirs lui seront
complaisans

Jusques à lui laisser et
mouches et rubans?

Ariste

Sans doute.

Sganarelle

A lui souffrir, en cervelle
troublée;

De courir tous les bals et les
lieux d'assemblée?

Ariste

Oui, vraiment.

Demea
 Et noua nupta eadem haec
 discet.
 Micio
 Scilicet.
 Demea
 Tu inter eas restim ductans
 saltabis.
 Micio
 Probe.
 (vss. 746-752.)

Sganarelle
 Et chez vous iront les
 damoiseaux?
 Ariste
 Et quoi donc?
 Sganarelle
 Qui joueront et don-
 neront cadeaux?
 Ariste
 D'accord.
 Sganarelle
 Et votre femme enten-
 dra les fleurettes?
 Ariste
 Fort bien.
 Sganarelle
 Et vous verrez ces
 visites muguettes
 D'un oeil à témoigner de n'en
 être point sou?
 Ariste
 Cela s'entend.
 Sganarelle
 Allez, vous êtes un vieux fou.
 (vss. 219-230.)

All these verbal reminiscences occur in Act I of *l'Ecole des maris*. Act II is based on *la Femme industrielle*: but there is one point of resemblance between this act and the *Adelphoe*. Demea rejoices that his rearing of Ctesipho has resulted in Ctesipho's supposed disapproval of his brother's escapades (really his own). Syrus reports to Demea that Ctesipho has severely reproved Aeschinus for his conduct. Demea rejoices that his training is bringing such excellent results: Syrus hypocritically flatters Demea by insinuating that Demea's teaching is responsible for Ctesipho's virtue:

Demea
 Syre, praeceptorum plenust istorum ille.
 Syrus
 Domi habuit unde disceret.
 (vss. 412-413.)

Similarly Sganarelle sees in Isabelle's feigned indignation at Valère's advances the fruit of his precepts:

Sganarelle

Je vois que mes leçons ont germé dans ton âme.
(vs. 495.)

The Latin passage is again imitated, and in more detail, in Act III of *l'Ecole des maris*. Syrus reports to Demea that Ctesipho has reprimanded his brother for carrying off the cithern-girl:

Syrus

Ah, nil reticuit.
Nam ut numerabatur forte argentum, interuenit
Homo de inprouiso: coepit clamare 'o Aeschine,
Haecine flagitia facere te! haec te admittere
Indigna genere nostro!'
(vss. 405-409.)

So Isabelle pretends to have scolded Léonor for deceiving Ariste and making a rendez-vous with Valère:

Isabelle

Quoi! ma soeur, ai-je dit, êtes-vous insensée?
Ne rougissez-vous point d'avoir pris tant d'amour
Pour ces sortes de gens qui changent chaque jour?
D'oublier votre sexe, et tromper l'espérance
D'un homme dont le ciel vous donnoit l'alliance?
(vss. 844-848.)

There is one further point of resemblance in Act III. Demea, discovering that the cithern-girl is really Ctesipho's mistress and convinced that his system is not expedient because of the baseness of human nature, not because of the fallacy of his theories, pretends to be converted to Micio's theories and practices amiability at Micio's expense. Urging his brother to make a gift of a farm to Pamphila's relatives, he quotes ironically Micio's own words concerning the avarice of old men. (vss. 953-954.) Similarly Sganarelle, having informed Ariste of Léonor's supposed rendez-vous with Valère, tauntingly quotes Ariste's own words:

Sganarelle

Vous l'avez bien stylée;
"Il n'est pas bon de vivre en sévère censeur;
On gagne les esprits par beaucoup de douceur;
Et les soins déflants, les verrous et les grilles
Ne font pas la vertu des femmes ni des filles."
(vss. 949-952.)

The words, of course, do not correspond.

Imitations of detail from the Spanish play are neither so numerous nor so significant as those from the *Adelphoe*. In *El marido hace mujer*, when Diego amiably approaches Sancho, Sancho is abrupt and rude to him. Sganarelle treats Valère in the same way:

Don Diego	Valère
Y bien lograda	Monsieur, un tel abord vous
Es al menos la jornada	interrompt peut-être?
Que he llegado a conoceros	Sganarelle
Porque vuestra cortesía . . .	Cela se peut.
Don Sancho	Valère
No es ninguna; ¿cumplimientos	Mais quoi? l'honneur de vous
A estas horas? ²⁵	connoître
(p. 424.)	Est un si grand bonheur, est
	un si doux plaisir,
	Que de vous saluer j'avois un
	grand désir.
	Sganarelle
	Soit.
	(vss. 284-287.)

Sancho forbids Juana to go to the Prado. Juan urges Leonor to go. In the same way Sganarelle and Ariste speak to Léonor and Isabelle:

Don Sancho	Sganarelle
Doña Juana, yo no gusto	Mais vous, je vous défends,
Que salgáis vos.	s'il vous plaît, de
Don Juan	sortir.
Mi Leonor, sí;	Ariste
Yo quiero que vayáis donde	Eh! laissez-les, mon frère,
Gustaréis, y que llevéis	aller se divertir.
El coche.	(vss. 89-90.)
.	
Vé, Leonor.	•
Don Sancho	
No salgáis vos. ²⁶	
(p. 428.)	

Don Diego remarks that whoever could love Sancho's wife would have no difficulty in winning her, since her husband would only aid a lover's cause. Valère's valet makes the same remark about Sganarelle:

²⁵Imitation noted by Martinenche.

²⁶Imitation noted by Martinenche.

Don Diego

¡Oh, quién pudiera
Querer la hermana! Que fuera
Grande ayuda su marido.
(p. 424.)

Ergaste

Apprenez, pour avoir votre
 'esprit raffermi,
Qu'une femme qu'on garde est
 gagnée à demi,
Et que les noirs chagrins des
 maris ou des pères
Ont toujours du galand avancé
 les affaires.
(vss. 317-320.)

Doña Juana resolves to do what never would have occurred to her if her husband had not been such a tyrant: she goes to meet Diego in her sister's place. Similarly Isabelle excuses herself for her advances to Valère:

Doña Juana

He de hacer
Lo que jamas no llegó
A mi honrado pensamiento.

.

Honor, no estéis vos quejoso;
Que en resolución tan nueva,
Yo no voy, porque me lleva
La necesidad de mi esposo.
(p. 429.)

Isabelle

Je fais, pour une fille, un
 projet bien hardi;
Mais l'injuste rigueur dont
 envers moi l'on use
Dans tout esprit bien fait me
 servira d'excuse.
(vss. 366-368.)

Sancho thinks Juan's supposed betrayal at the hands of his wife just punishment for Juan's stupidity. Sganarelle thinks also that Ariste deserves Léonor's supposed treachery:

Don Sancho

El es tan necio y sufrido,
Que merece, y no es injusto,
Cuanto le sucede aquí.
(p. 431.)

Sganarelle

Il le mérite bien et j'en suis
 fort ravi.
(vs. 849.)

There is one passage only which might be an imitation of either the *Adelphoe* or *El marido hace mujer*. Demea rushes to Micio to announce fresh iniquities on the part of Aeschinus, the betrayal of Pamphila. Sancho announces triumphantly to Juan the news of Leonor's supposed rendez-vous with Diego. Sganarelle triumphantly brings word to Ariste of Isabelle's supposed rendez-vous with Valère. The situation in *l'Ecole des maris* is closer to that in *El marido hace mujer*, since both Sancho and

Sganarelle are delighted at the apparent failure of the system of indulgence and both are soon to discover that they have been duped and that it is their own system of severity that has failed. Demea, while somewhat pleased that his brother's theories have been proved false, is not altogether triumphant, since Aeschinus is his son. Moreover, Aeschinus is really guilty of the seduction of Pamphila. But the scene in *l'Ecole des maris* is sufficiently like the scene in the *Adelphoe* for the resemblance to be pointed out by Despois:

Demea	Ariste	Sancho
Sed eccum ipsum. te iam dudum quaero, Micio.	Qui frappe là? Ah! ah! que voulez- vous, mon frère?	¿Don Juan? Juan
Micio	Sganarelle	¿Qué es esto, Don Sancho?
Quid nam?	Venez, beau directeur, suranné damoiseau:	Sancho Yo digo presto
Demea	On veut vous faire voir quelque chose de beau.	Todo lo que siento yo. Vuestro dictamen holgado
Fero alia flagitia ad te ingentia Boni illius adules- centis.	Ariste	Tan galante y espar- cido,
Micio	Comment?	Tan discreto lo marido,
Ecce autem!	Sganarelle	Lo galán tan demasiado,
Demea	Je vous apporte une bonne nouvelle.	Ved, don Juan, dónde para.
Noua, Capitalia. (vss. 720-723.)	Ariste	Juan
	Quoi?	¿Qué queréis darme a entender?
	Sganarelle	Sancho
	Votre Léonor, où je vous prie, est- elle?	Que aquella es vuestra mujer.
	(vss. 940-944.)	(p. 430.)

All the imitations of detail are shown in the following table:

PARALLEL PASSAGES IN THE *ADELPHOE*,
L'ECOLE DES MARIS, AND *EL MARIDO HACE MUJER*

(An asterisk marks parallel passages noted
by Despois or by M. Martinenche.)

ADELPHOE	ACT I L'ECOLE	EL MARIDO
1. Micio	Ariste	
Nimium ipse est <i>durus</i> praeter aequomque et bonum. (vs. 64.)	Cette farouche humeur, dont la <i>sévérité</i> Fuit toutes les dou- ceurs de la société. (p. 358, vss. 13-14.)	

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

2.

Micio
uerum, Demea,
Curemus aequam uterque
partem: tu *alterum*,
Ego item *alterum*.
(vss. 129-131.)

Sganarelle
D'élever *celle-là*
vous pûtes le souci,
Et moi, je me chargeai
du soin de *celle-ci*.
Selon vos volontés vous
gouvernez la vôtre;
Laissez-moi, je vous
prie, à mon gré ré-
gir l'*autre*.
(p. 365, vss. 105-108.)

Sancho
Discretísimo señor,
Seguid vos lo confiado
Yo lo temido, y veremos
Quién hace de ambos
extremos
El suyo más desdichado.
(p. 423.)

3.

Demea
si tibi istuc *placet*,
Profundat perdat pereat,
nil ad me attinet.
(vss. 133-134.)

Sganarelle
J'y consens: *qu'elle*
coure, aime l'oisi-
veté
Et soit des damoiseaux
fleurée en liberté.
J'en suis fort satis-
fait. Mais j'entends
que la mienne
Vive à ma fantaisie, et
non pas à la sienne.
(pp. 365-366, vss. 113-
116.)

4.

Demea
Id misero restat mihi
mali, si illum
potest,
Cui aliquoi reist
etiam, eum ad ne-
quitiem adducere.
(vss. 357-358.)
Demea (to Micio)
Tu illum corrumpi sinis.
(vs. 97.)
Demea (of Micio)
Eccum adest
Communis corruptela
nostrum liberum.²⁷
(vss. 792-793.)

Sganarelle (to Léonor)
Oui, vous me la gâtez,
puisqu'il faut parler
net.
Vos visites ici ne
font que me déplaire,
Et vous m'obligerez de ne
nous en plus faire.
(vss. 259-261, p. 357.)

²⁷Corresponds to the following passage from *les Esprits*:

Severin: Vous avez été cause de ses désordres (i.e. those of Urbain.), p. 267.

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

5.

Micio

Hoc patriumst, potius
 consuefacere filium
Sua sponte recte facere
 quam alieno metu:
 Hoc pater ac dominus
 interest.
 (vss. 74-76.)

Lisette

Le plus sûr est, ma
 foi, de se fier en
 nous.
 (p. 368, vs. 154.)
 Sommes-nous chez les
Turcs, pour renfer-
 mer les femmes?
 Car on dit qu'on les
 tient esclaves en
 ce lieu.
 (p. 368, vss. 144-145.)

Juan

La mujer que más se
 muestra
 Flaca, cuando va a
 perderse,
 Firme suele mantenerse
 En la confianza nuestra;
 Mas si con desconfi-
 anza
 La tratamos, vengativa,
 Todo lo arrastra y derriba
 Hasta la misma esperanza.
 (p. 423.)

6.

Lisette

C'est nous inspirer
 presque un désir de
 pécher,
 Que montrer tant de
 soins de nous en
 empêcher.
 (p. 368, vss. 157-158.)

Juan

*Vos no queréis en-
 tenderlo;
 Que es decir a una
 mujer
 Todo lo que no ha de
 hacer
 Decirla que puede
 hacerlo.
 (p. 423.)

7.

Micio

Pudore et liberalitate
 liberos
Retinere satius esse
 credo quam metu.
 (vss. 57-58.)

Ariste

Et les soins déliants, les
 verrous et les grilles
 Ne font pas la vertu des
 femmes ni des filles.
 C'est l'honneur qui les
 doit tenir dans le de-
 voir,
 Non la sévérité que nous
 leur faisons voir.
 (p. 369, vss. 167-170.)

8.

Micio

Et errat longe mea qui-
 dem sententia,
 Qui imperium credat
 grauius esse aut
 stabilius,

Ariste

Je trouve que le coeur est
 ce qu'il faut gagner.
 (p. 369, vs. 174.)

ADELPHOE

Micio

Vi quod fit, quam illud
quod *amicitia* adiungi-
tur.²⁸

(vss. 65-67.)

9.

Micio

Malo coactus qui suom
officium facit,
Dum id rescitum iri
credit, tantisper
pauet;
Si sperat fore clam,
rursum ad *ingenium*
redit.²⁸

(vss. 69-71.)

L'ECOLE

Ariste

Et je tiendrois, moi, quel-
que soin qu'on se donne,
Mon honneur guère sûr
aux mains d'une per-
sonne
A qui, dans les *désirs* qui
pourroient l'assaillir,
Il ne manqueroit rien
qu'un moyen de faillir.
(p. 369, vss. 175-178.)

10.

Micio

Do, praetermitto, non
necesse habeo
omnia
Pro meo iure agere.
(vss. 51-52.)

.....

obsonat, potat, olet
unguenta: de meo.
(vs. 117.)

Ariste

J'ai souffert qu'elle ait vu
les belles compagnies,
Les divertissements, les
bals, les comédies.
(p. 370, vss. 187-188.)

11*.

Micio

et, dis gratia,
Est unde haec fiant,
et adhuc non
molesta sunt.
(vss. 121-122.)

Ariste

Et ce sont des plaisirs
qu'on peut dans nos
familles,
Lorsque l'on a du bien,
permettre aux jeunes
filles.
(p. 370, vss. 195-196.)

²⁸Passages 8 and 9 correspond to the following passage from *les Esprits*:

Hilaire: Je m'esmerveille de vous et de tous ceux qui pensent les enfants se pouvoir retirer de leur naturelle inclination ou par force ou par menaces, car je vous advise que, si je voulois empescher Fortuné de se recréer et prendre ses plaisirs, qu'il en feroit cent fois pis; mais il faut que, luy permettant une légère chose ou il a son coeur, je luy deffende toute autre de consequence, l'accoutumant à m'obeyr non par

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

12.

Micio

Non est *flagitium*, mihi
crede, *adulescentulum*
Scortari, neque potare.
(vss. 101-102).

Ariste

Des moindres libertés je
n'ai point fait des
crimes.
(p. 369, vs. 184).

13.

Micio

Homine imperito num-
quam quicquam in-
iustius,
Qui nisi quod ipse
fecit nil rectum
putat.
(vss. 98-99.)

Ariste

Et l'école du monde, en
l'air dont il faut vivre,
Instruit mieux, à mon gré,
que ne fait aucun livre.
(p. 370, vss. 191-192.)

14.

Micio

et tu illum tuom,
si esses homo,
Sineres nunc facere,
dum per aetatem
licet,
Potius quam, ubi te
expectatum eiecisset
foras
Alienore aetate post
faceret tamen.
(vss. 107-110.)

Ariste

Je ne suivrais jamais ces
maximes sévères,
Qui font que les enfants
comptent les jours des
pères.
(p. 371, vss. 211-212.)

15*.

Demea

Ita me di ament, ut
uideo ego tuam
ineptiam,
Facturum credo, ut
habeas quicum
cantites.

Micio

Quor non?

Demea

Et noua nupta
eadem haec discet.

Sganarelle

Quoi? si vous l'épousez,
elle pourra prétendre
Les mêmes libertés que
fille on lui voit prendre?

Ariste

Pourquoi non?

Sganarelle

Vos désirs lui seront
complaisans

Jusques à lui laisser et
mouches et rubans?

force, mais par amour; car quiconques fait bien par crainte, le continue autant longue-
ment qu'il pense qu'il sera sçu et fait secrettement le mal quand il en peut avoir
la commodité. (p. 205.)

ADELPHOE

Micio

Scilicet.

Demea

Tu inter eas restim
ductans saltabis.

Micio

Probe.

Demea

Probe?

Micio

Et tu nobiscum
una, si opus sit.

Demea

Ei mihi!

Non te haec pudent?
(vss. 749-754.)

L'ECOLE

Ariste

Sans doute.

Sganarelle

A lui souffrir, en cer-
velle troublée,

De courir tous les bals et
les lieux d'assemblée?

Ariste

Oui, vraiment.

Sganarelle

Et chez vous iront les
damoiseaux?

Ariste

Et quoi donc?

Sganarelle

Cui joueront et donne-
ront cadeaux?

Ariste

D'accord.

Sganarelle

El votre femme entendra
les fleurettes?

Ariste

Fort bien.

Sganarelle

Et vous verrez ces
visites muguettes

D'un oeil à témoigner
de n'en être point
soû?

Ariste

Cela s'entend.

Sganarelle

Allez, vous êtes un
vieux fou.

(pp. 371-373, vss. 219-
230.)

EL MARIDO

Demea

O Iuppiter,
Hancine uitam!
hoscine mores!
hanc *dementiam*!

Sganarelle

Quelle belle famille!
un *vieillard insensé*,
Qui fait le dameret dans
un corps tout cassé;

ADELPHOE

Demea

Vxor sine dote ueniet;
 intus psaltriat;
 Domus sumptuosa; adu-
 lescens luxu per-
 ditus;
Senex delirans. ipsa
si cupiat Salus,
Seruare prorsus non
potest hanc
familiam.
 (vss. 757-762.)

17.

Micio

Ruri agere uitam; sem-
 per parce ac
 duriter
 Se habere.
 (vs. 45.)

L'ECOLE

Sganarelle

Une fille maîtresse et
 coquette suprême;
 Des valets impudents;
 non, la *Sagesse* même
 N'en viendrait pas à
 bout, perdrait sens
 et raison
 A vouloir corriger une
 telle *maison*.
 (p. 375, vss. 253-258.)

Sganarelle

Isabelle pourroit perdre
 dans ces hantises
 Les semences d'honneur
 qu'avec nous elle a
 prises;
 Et pour l'en empêcher,
 dans peu nous préten-
 dons
 Lui faire aller revoir *nos*
choux et *nos dindons*.
 (p. 375, vss. 259-262.)

18.*

Valère

Monsieur, un tel abord
 vous interrompt
 peut-être?

Sganarelle

Cela se peut.

Valère

Mais quoi? l'hon-
 neur de vous con-
 noître
 Est un si grand bonheur,
 est un si doux plaisir,
 Que de vous saluer
 j'avois un grand désir.

Sganarelle

Soit.

(p. 379, vss. 283-287.)

EL MARIDO

Diego

*Y bien lograda
 Es al menos la
 jornada
 Que he llegado a
 conoceros,
 Porque vuestra cor-
 tesía . . .

Sancho

No es ninguna;
 ¿cumplimientos a
 estas horas?
 (p. 424.)

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

19.

Ergaste
Apprenez, pour avoir
votre esprit
raffermi
Qu'une femme qu'on
garde est gagnée à
demi
Et que les noirs chagrins
des maris ou des pères
Ont toujours du galand
avancé les affaires.
(p. 381, vss. 317-320.)

Diego
¿Oh, quién pudiera
Querer la hermana!
Que fuera grande
ayuda su marido.
(p. 424.)

20.*

Sganarelle
Mais vous, je vous
défends, s'il vous
plaît, de sortir.
Ariste
Eh! Laissez-les, mon frère,
aller se divertir.
(p. 364, vss. 89-90.)

Don Sancho
*Doña Juana, yo no
gusto
Que salgáis vos.
Don Juan
Vé, Leonor.
Don Sancho
No salgáis vos.
(p. 428.)

ACTS II, III

Isabelle
Je fais, pour une
fille, un projet
bien hardi;
Mais l'injuste rigueur
dont envers moi
l'on use
Dans tout esprit bien
fait me servira
d'excuse.
p. 384, vss. 366-368.)

Juana
He de hacer
Lo que jamás no llegó
A mi honrado pensa-
miento,
.
Honor, no estéis vos
quejoso;
Que en resolución tan
nueva,
Yo no voy, porque me
lleva
La necedad de mi esposo.
(p. 429.)

22.

Demea

Sganarelle

Ain uero?

Et tu trouves cela . . .

ADELPHOE

Syrus
 Ah, nil reticuit.
 Nam ut numerabatur
 forte argentum, inter-
 uenit
 Homo de inproviso:
 coepit clamare 'o
 Aeschine,
 Haecine flagitia facere
 te! haec te ad-
 mittere
 Indigna genere nostro!
 Demea
 Oh, lacrumo gau-
 dio!

 Syre, *praeceptorum*
plenust istorum ille.
 (vss. 405-412.)

23.²⁹

Syrus
 Vt quisque suum
 uolt esse, itast.³⁰
 (vs. 399.)

L'ECOLE

Isabelle
 Moi, j'en suis
 courroucée.
 "Quoi! ma soeur" ai-je
 dit, "êtes vous insen-
 sée?
 Ne rougissez-vous point"
 etc. . . .
 (p. 416, vss. 843-848.)

 Sganarelle
 Va, ta vertu me charme,
 et ta prudence aussi.
 Je vois, que mes *leçons*
 ont germé dans ton *âme*.
 (p. 393, vss. 494-495.)

EL MARIDO

Sganarelle
 Ma foi! les filles
 sont ce que l'on les
 fait être.
 (p. 394, vs. 511.)

Sancho
 Cualquiera, no como
 nace,
 Como vive, tiene el
 nombre
 La sangre es tiempo
 perdido
*El marido hace mujer.*³¹
 (p. 431.)

²⁹Passage 23 corresponds to the following passage from *les Esprits*:

Hilaire: Ce que dis est vrai. Et vous assure que la plus part des meurs et coutumes de la jeunesse, soient bonnes ou mauvaises, procedde de leurs pères et mères ou de ceux qui en ont charge. p. 203.)

But it is significant that Terence has Syrus express a similar sentiment ironically, knowing how signally Demea has failed to make Ctesipho what he wishes him to be. The remark in Molière has the same ironical significance, since Sganarelle makes it. Since Sancho says, "El marido hace mujer," apparently his remark also shows the same ironical intent on the part of Mendoza: but the moral of the Spanish play is, after all, "el trato muda costumbre," and the system of indulgence is credited with the same power to mould character as in Larivey's play. Neither Micio nor Ariste expresses any such complete confidence in the efficacy of his system.

³⁰Noted by Moland.

³¹Noted by Martinenche.

ADELPHOE	L'ECOLE	EL MARIDO
24.*		
Demea	Ariste	Sancho
Sed eccum ipsum. te	Qui frappe? Ah!	¿Don Juan?
iam dudum quaero,	ah! que voulez-	Juan
Micio.	vous, mon frère?	¿Qué es esto,
Micio	Sganarelle	Don Sancho?
Quid nam?	Venez, beau directeur,	Sancho
Demea	suranné damoiseau:	Yo digo presto
Fero alia flagitia	On veut vous faire	Todo lo que siento yo.
Boni illius adules-	voir quelque chose	Vuestro dictamen
centis.	de beau.	holgado,
Micio	Ariste	Tan discreto lo marido,
Ecce autem!	Comment?	Lo galán tan demasiado,
Demea	Sganarelle	Ved, don Juan, dónde
Noua,	Je vous apporte une	para.
Capitalia.	bonne nouvelle.	Juan
(vss. 720-723.)	Ariste	¿Qué queréis darme a
	Quoi?	entender?
	Sganarelle	Sancho
	Votre Léonor, où je	Que aquella es vuestra
	vous prie, est-elle?	mujer.
	(p. 423, vss. 940-946.)	(p. 430.)
25.	Ariste	
Micio	Cependant votre coeur,	
si te mi ipsum	méprisant mon suffrage,	
puduit proloqui,	De foi, comme d'amour,	
Qua resciscerem?	à mon insu s'engage.	
(vss. 690-691.)	(p. 432, vss. 1059-1060.)	
26.	Sganarelle	Sancho
	Il le <i>mérite</i> bien et	El es tan necio y
	j'en suis fort	sufrido
	ravi.	Que <i>merece</i> , y no es
	(p. 416, vs. 849.)	injusto,
		Cuanto le sucede aquí.
		(p. 431.)

It is apparent from these parallel passages that Molière drew more freely on his models for the construction of Act I than for Act III. Terence's contribution to Act I bulks much larger than that of Mendoza. In Acts II and III Mendoza's contribution of details is no more considerable than Terence's. Moreover, all the passages taken from the *Adelphoe*

or suggested by the Latin play are of such a nature as to indicate a deliberate imitation of the *Adelphoe* rather than a fortuitous use of details recollected. Since the situation in *l'Ecole des maris* is different from that in the *Adelphoe*, we cannot expect to find translation. But in many of the parallel passages where Molière had to change the words to fit the altered situation, a word here and there, a rhetorical device, the division of the verse, or the syntax, points unmistakably to the *Adelphoe* as the model for the scene. In (2) for instance, there is the balance *alterum . . . alterum* and *cella-là celle-ci*. In (3), Molière repeats the series of subjunctives: *profundat, perdat, pereat, in qu'elle coure, aime l'oisiveté, et soit des damoiseaux fleurée en liberté*. In (5), Micio makes the point that a father should not use the methods of an owner of slaves in rearing his children; Lisette protests against women's being treated as slaves. In (7), *honneur* echoes *pudore et liberalitate; sévérité, metu; tenir dans de devoir* is a translation of *retinere*. In (8), *coeur* echoes *amicitia*. In (10), the enumeration of Léonor's diversions parallels Micio's enumerations of Aeschinus's diversions. Of course the diversions of the young French lady of the seventeenth century were necessarily different from those of the Greek (or Roman) youth; but the similar enumeration betrays the kinship with the passage in the *Adelphoe*. In (11) we have a free translation of a passage from the Latin play. In (12), again, Molière has to change Aeschinus's escapades (which Micio himself does not regard as quite as innocent as he maintains to Demea) into more harmless offenses on the part of Léonor; but he is following Micio's argument and the word *crimes* harks back to *flagitium*. I have already pointed out the significance of (14). Here Molière has merely translated freely, since the idea of "les enfants qui comptent les jours des pères" is in *expectatum*. Such imitation of the pattern of a scene as we find in (15) is more convincing evidence of deliberate use of the Latin play as a model than an echo here and there of the exact words would be. (16) is obviously as literal a translation of the Latin as Molière could make to fit into the scheme of his play. Aside from the exactly analogous situations in (22) — Syrus is lying to Demea, telling him that Ctesipho has reproved his brother for a crime which Ctesipho himself has committed but of which Demea thinks Aeschinus guilty, while Isabelle is reporting to Sganarelle her supposed reproof to her sister, Léonor, for an escapade of which she is accusing Léonor but of which she herself is really guilty—the speeches have the same movement. Syrus quotes Ctesipho; Isabelle quotes her own words, and both these quotations begin

with a similar interjection. In (23), Syrus's ironical remark is closer to Sganarelle's than is the corresponding passage in *El marido*. In (24), it would be difficult to say whether Molière is following Terence or Mendoza. Despois points out this passage as an imitation of Terence, while Martinenche fails to note the corresponding passage in *El marido*.

No such verbal similarity can be traced in the passages suggested by the Spanish play. The imitations of details point inevitably to the conclusion that Molière had the Latin text before him when he constructed his play while he may merely have seen or read and remembered the Spanish play. He uses in *l'Ecole des maris* ideas or incidents from *El marido hace mujer*; he never uses the words and he never follows the verbal pattern, so to speak, of the Spanish play.

Although in Act III Molière does not follow either model as closely as he follows the *Adelphoe* in Act I, the dénouement of *l'Ecole des maris* resembles that of *El marido hace mujer* superficially at least, rather than that of the *Adelphoe*. The dénouements of all three plays are similar, since the complication is built upon a misapprehension, and the unravelling comes with the clearing up of this error. The cithern-girl is thought to be Aeschinus's mistress; Demea thinks his policy has been a success and Micio's a failure; with the discovery that the girl is Ctesipho's mistress, he realizes that his system has failed. Sancho thinks Leonor is meeting Diego and sees in Leonor's supposed unfaithfulness the result of Juan's indulgence. With the discovery that Juana, not Leonor, has been meeting Diego, comes the triumph of indulgence and trust and the downfall of tyranny and suspicion. Sganarelle thinks that Isabelle has repulsed Valère's advances and that Léonor is pursuing Valère. He enjoys a momentary triumph at Ariste's expense only to discover that, in his eagerness to punish Ariste for his stupid theories, he has married Isabelle, not Léonor, to Valère. But the fact that Molière's play deals with two women instead of two young men, makes it necessary for him to follow in detail the solution of the Spanish play. Juana, bent upon punishing Sancho for his tyranny, disobeys his orders and goes, veiled, to the Prado. There she meets and talks to Don Diego. Sancho sees them and thinks it is Leonor whom he sees talking to Diego. He triumphantly reports his discovery to Juan, who refuses to verify his suspicions. Later Juana sends for Diego. Diego, who thinks Léonor has sent for him in her sister's name, addresses Juana as Léonor. Juan hears him call her Leonor and thinks Sancho's suspicions justified; but, when Juana discloses her identity, Juan learns that his policy of lenience toward Leonor has

succeeded while Sancho's tyranny has brought the results which he, Juan, had foreseen. Similarly, Sganarelle, believing Isabelle's story of Léonor's rendez-vous with Valère, triumphantly reports Léonor's supposed treachery to Ariste. Ariste refuses to believe him but goes with him to Valère's house. There they hear Valère refer to his companion as "Isabelle," and both believe that Valère himself is deceived by Léonor's trick. Sganarelle, still under the delusion that Isabelle is Léonor, insists that Valère marry her. Ariste consents. After the marriage, they discover that Isabelle, not Léonor, is married to Valère.

Despite the similarity of this dénouement to that of *El marido hace mujer*, Act III is not free from influence of the *Adelphoe*. The following table will serve to show how Molière constructed Acts I and III of his play with ideas and incidents drawn from both the *Adelphoe* and *El marido hace mujer*:

PARALLEL IDEAS AND INCIDENTS IN THE ADELPHOE,
L'ECOLE DES MARIS, AND EL MARIDO HACE MUJER

ACT I

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

Micio begs Demea to let him handle Aeschinus as he sees fit.
(vss. 129 ff.)

Sganarelle tells Ariste not to meddle with his business. He intends to please only himself.
(sc. I.)

Micio attributes Demea's harshness and stubbornness to his ignorance of the world.
(vss. 98-99.)

Ariste criticises Sganarelle's anti-social attitude. He refers scornfully to Ariste's age.
(sc. I.)

Sancho refers scornfully to Juan's age.
(p. 423.)

Léonor and Isabelle prepare to go out. Sganarelle forbids Isabelle to go. Ariste urges him to let her accompany Léonor. Sganarelle tells Ariste not to interfere with his discipline.
(sc. II.)

Leonor prepares to go to the Prado. Juana decides to accompany her. Sancho forbids Juana to go. Juan urges Leonor to go.
(p. 428.)

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

Demea angrily tells Micio to let Aeschinus be ruined if he pleases.
(vss. 133 ff.)

Sganarelle angrily tells Ariste to let Leonor be as frivolous as she pleases but he intends to see that Isabelle obeys his commands.
He does not intend to wear horns if he can help it.
(sc. II.)

Sancho tells Juan to pursue his course of indulgence; he will see which is right in the end. Sancho is willing to be accused of anything, rather than be deceived by his wife.
(p. 423.)

Demea fears that Ctesipho may be corrupted by association with Aeschinus.
(vss. 355 ff.)

Sganarelle admits that he fears that Isabelle will be corrupted by association with Léonor.
(sc. II.)

Léonor says that lack of confidence may lead to anything with her.
(sc. II.)

Juan says that women become vindictive when they are not trusted.
(p. 423.)

Micio maintains that friendliness is better discipline than fear.
(vss. 65 ff.)

Ariste maintains that only through affection, not through constraint, can a young person be controlled.
(sc. II.)

Micio claims that Demea's system causes a young man to obey only while he fears detection. Once the fear is removed he returns to his natural bent.
(vss. 70 ff.)

Ariste maintains that honor is poorly safeguarded in a woman who is virtuous only because she is given no chance to be otherwise.
(sc. II.)

Micio says he overlooks Aeschinus's peccadilloes. He indulges his whims.
(vss. 51-52.)

Ariste says he does not consider insignificant 'liberties crimes'.
He indulges Léonor's whims.
(sc. II.)

ADELPHOE

Micio says he allows Aeschinus to have dinner parties, drinking parties. There is no harm while he has the means.
(vss. 117 ff.)

Micio says he indulges Aeschinus while he is young so that he will not be longing to get him out of the way so as to run riot at a less fitting time of life.
(vss. 107 ff.)

Demea laments the license and corruption of Micio's household.
(vss. 758 ff.)

Demea has lived the frugal, narrow life of the countryman.
(vss. 44 ff.)

L'ECOLE

Ariste says that young people should be given those pleasures which their families can afford.
(sc. II.)

Ariste says he will not follow those severe maxims that make children long for the death of their fathers.
(sc. II.)

Ariste says he intends to let Léonor lead the same life after she is married.
(sc. II.)

Ariste announces his intention of trusting his honor to the loyalty of his wife.
(sc. II.)

Sganarelle says he will be delighted when Léonor betrays Ariste.
(sc. II.)

Sganarelle bemoans the corruption and license of Ariste's household.
(sc. II.)

Sganarelle lauds the life of the country.
(sc. III.)

Valère approaches Sganarelle and is abruptly dismissed.
(sc. III.)

EL MARIDO

Diego approaches Sancho and is abruptly dismissed.
(p. 424.)

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

Ergaste says, that the severity of husbands and fathers is a great help to lovers.
(sc. IV.)

Diego says that Sancho's severity would greatly help the cause of anyone who happened to be in love with Juana.
(p. 424.)

ACT I

From the outline of parallel ideas and incidents in the three plays it is clear that Molière constructed his first act with material drawn from Terence and from Mendoza. The first act of the *Adelphoe* is a long monologue spoken by Micio in which the exposition of the play is given and of a scene between Micio and Demea in which they argue about their contrasting policy towards their sons. Molière uses nearly all this first act of the *Adelphoe*. Micio attributes Demea's harshness to his ignorance of the world. Molière expands this idea into Scene I of his play in which Ariste remonstrates with Sganarelle because of his stubborn refusal to follow the trend of the times. Scene II opens with the scene in which Lisette tells Léonor that she is fortunate to have the reasonable brother as her guardian. Follows the scene in which Sganarelle forbids Isabelle to go out with Léonor, and Ariste urges Sganarelle to let her go, a scene exactly parallel to one in *El marido*. Then comes the long discussion between Ariste and Sganarelle which gives the thesis of the play. There is a somewhat similar scene in *El marido* between Juan and Sancho in which Juan upbraids Sancho for his ridiculous obsession, his fear of being deceived by his wife, which leads him to treat her as a slave. The scene in Molière's play has only one point in common, however, with the Spanish play, that is, that it is Juan who tries to reform his headstrong brother just as Ariste tries to show Sganarelle his folly, while in the *Adelphoe* Micio is on the defensive. The arguments used by Ariste, however, can be traced in every case to those used by Micio in defending himself in Act I of the Latin play. Indeed Molière is following the *Adelphoe* so closely that, in some instances, he seems to have forgotten to adapt his material to the changed situation in his play. There follows Sganarelle's lament over the laxity of his brother's household, taken almost verbatim from the *Adelphoe* and noted by Despois. Sganarelle expands on the corruption of morals and resolves to return to the country. This idea of having him live in the country is probably suggested by the *Adelphoe*. Micio tells us that Demea lives a

frugal life in the country. Sganarelle meets Valère, who tries to approach him politely and to flatter him and is curtly dismissed. This incident is taken from the Spanish play, although there is no imitation of details. Molière makes the scene more comic by having Sganarelle first pay no attention to Valère but go on muttering imprecations on the corruption of city life. The device of having one character talk on without noticing the other who is addressing him is common in Latin comedy. The brusque treatment of Diego at the hands of Sancho suggested the latter part of the scene but Molière has expanded it greatly, having Sganarelle reply to Valère's flowery speeches with a quarter-verse in each case. Scene IV, between Valère and Ergaste, is added. There is one echo of the Spanish play here. Ergaste says that husbands or fathers of Sganarelle's type help the cause of lovers, a reminiscence of one of Diego's speeches in *El marido*. It is evident then that Molière used both plays, not one or the other exclusively. The exposition, the philosophy of education of *l'Ecole* he could not have got from *El marido*. He took it from the *Adelphoe*. But he utilized other material from *El marido*. There is no possibility of conflicting sources or of his having got the material of Act I indirectly through the Spanish play.

ACT III

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

Isabelle starts out to meet Valère and unexpectedly meets Sganarelle.

She tells Sganarelle that Léonor has begged her to allow her to use her (Isabelle's) room and masquerade as Isabelle in order to talk to Valère, whom she loves.

(sc. II.)

Juana goes veiled to the Prado, where she meets Diego, who is in love with her sister.

(p. 429.)

Cyrus tells Demea that Ctesipho has upbraided Aeschinus for the abduction of the cithern-girl (an escapade for which Ctesipho is really responsible.)

(vss. 405 ff.)

Isabelle tells Sganarelle that she has reproved her sister for making a rendez-vous with Valère, (a rendez-vous which she, Isabelle, has made in reality.)

(sc. II.)

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

Sganarelle thinks Ariste deserves his supposed betrayal.
(sc. II.)

Sancho thinks Juan deserves his supposed betrayal.
(p. 431.)

Sganarelle sees Isabelle meet Valère and thinks it is Léonor.
(sc. III.)

Sancho sees Juana talking to Diego and thinks it is Leonor.
(p. 430.)

Sganarelle hears Isabelle tell Valère who she is and thinks she is deceiving him, Valère.
(sc. III.)

Sganarelle meets a notary and asks him to go to Valère's house to marry Valère and Léonor (as Sganarelle thinks).
(sc. IV.)

Sganarelle rushes triumphantly to Ariste to tell him of Léonor's supposed rendez-vous with Valère.
(sc. V.)

Sancho rushes triumphantly to Juan to tell him of Leonor's supposed rendez-vous with Diego.
(p. 430.)

Demea rushes to Micio to tell him of the betrayal of Pamphila.
(vss. 720 ff.)

Demea rejoices that his precepts have brought results, (when Syrus reports Ctesipho's supposed reproof of Aeschinus).
(vss. 410 ff.)

Sganarelle rejoices that his system has worked.
(sc. V.)

Sganarelle points out to Ariste the fruits of his "maximes folles."
(sc. V.)

Sancho points to Leonor's apparent treachery as the fruit of Juan's stupid indulgence.
(p. 430.)

Demea quotes Micio's maxims ironically.
(vss. 953 ff.)

Sganarelle quotes Ariste's maxims ironically.
(sc. V.)

ADELPHOE

Micio reproaches Aeschinus for not taking him into his confidence about Pamphila.
(vss. 690 ff.)

Demea, having discovered that Ctesipho is as guilty as Aeschinus, is disgusted with both youths for loving Micio because of his indulgence, and not appreciating his own efforts for their welfare. He begins practicing generosity at Micio's expense.
(Act VI.)

L'ECOLE

Ariste refuses to believe that Léonor has gone to Valère's house but agrees to accompany Sganarelle to Valère's house and to make Valère marry Léonor if they find her there.
(sc. V.)

Sganarelle and Ariste, outside Valère's house, hear Valère addressing his companion as Isabelle. Micio does not understand but Sganarelle thinks Valère is still deceived by Léonor's trick.
(sc. VII.)

The marriage papers are signed.
(sc. VII.)

Léonor enters, coming home from a ball. Ariste reproaches her for not taking him into her confidence.
(sc. VIII.)

Isabelle enters and explains her ruse.
(sc. IX.)

Sganarelle blames the perversity of women for the failure of his system.
(sc. IX.)

EL MARIDO

Juan refuses to believe or to admit that he believes Sancho's accusation.
(p. 430.)

Juana sends for Don Diego, who thinks she is Leonor. Hearing Diego address his companion as Leonor, Juan thinks Sancho's accusations have been justified.
(p. 434.)

Juana tells Diego that she is Juana, not Leonor. Juan overhears her and thus learns that Leonor is innocent.
(p. 435.)

Sancho recognizes his mistake but says he cannot act otherwise.
(p. 436.)

Act III, like Act I, is constructed with material drawn from both the Spanish and the Latin models. Isabelle's impromptu lie to Sganarelle does not come either from the Spanish or from the *Adelphoe*. It was probably suggested, however, by the Spanish play, since Léonor's conduct, as described by Isabelle, corresponds to the actual conduct of Juana. Isabelle's account of her reproof of Léonor is an imitation of Syrus's account of Ctesipho's supposed remonstrances to Aeschinus. Sganarelle's delight at Ariste's undoing corresponds to Sancho's pleasure at the apparent failure of his brother's policy. But Sganarelle's pride in the results of his own maxims comes from Demea's delight at the fruits of his precepts. Diego thinks he is speaking to Léonor instead of Juana. So Sganarelle believes that Valère is deceived as to the identity of his companion when he calls her Isabelle, instead of Léonor. Sganarelle, in his delight over his brother's discomfiture, ironically quotes Ariste's own maxims; similarly Demea, taking vengeance for the failure of his policy, and urging Micio to acts of generosity, ironically quotes Micio's own maxims concerning the avarice of old men. Ariste, like Juan, is loath to believe Sganarelle's accusations against Léonor. Micio reproaches Aeschinus, not so much for his betrayal of Pamphila, as for his injustice to her in failing to take him (Micio) into his confidence, so that he might marry her. Similarly, Ariste reproaches Léonor, not for her supposed flirtation with Valère, but for her failure to take him, Ariste, into her confidence. Sganarelle's reaction when he finally realizes that he has been duped is more like Demea's than Sancho's. Sancho admits that he has been at fault; but says that he would always act the same way in the same situation. Demea pretends to be converted to Micio's point of view in order to prove to Micio that he has won the affection of Aeschinus and Ctesipho by indulging them regardless of their own welfare. Sganarelle is as blind as Demea to his own faults. He looks upon his undoing as the result of the perversity and ingratitude of women.

In the matter of characters, I have already indicated that Isabelle and Léonor are perhaps closer to Ctesipho and Aeschinus than to Juana and Leonor, as there is no complete change of heart in Molière's heroines. One speech of Léonor's would indicate a certain kinship with the Leonor of the Spanish play. Molière's Léonor says: "Je sais ce qu'en moi feroit la défiance." (vs. 139.) Mendoza's heroine announces that her conduct will depend entirely on her husband's attitude towards her:

Taz a taz voy con mi esposo,
 Yo cuerda si él avisado,
 Yo enamorada si él tierno,
 Yo apacible si él humano,
 Yo fiera si él imperioso,
 Yo enemiga si él contrario,
 Yo rebelde si él terrible,
 Yo temeraria si él bravo;
 Que no es ley, honor ni deuda,
 Sufrir un dueño, un tirano,
 Muy soberbio de dichoso,
 Muy presumido de ingrato.

(p. 422.)

But Molière neither elaborates the idea nor does he illustrate it as Mendoza does, for Mendoza's heroine renounces Don Diego, with whom she has been in love, and her change of heart is brought about entirely by Juan's attitude towards her. From the beginning, Léonor is frivolous, independent, but loyal and sincere. All these traits are to be found in Aeschinus, and from the beginning. Isabelle has nothing in common with Ctesipho, however, except that she is the same from beginning to end. She uses the same ruses as Dorimond's heroine; but she is a more moral and a more sympathetic character. She justifies her duplicity as Juana does, by maintaining that it is forced on her by the cruel tyranny of her guardian; but her excuse is more authentic. She has been in love with Valère from the first; Juana flirts with Diego out of vindictiveness.

Of more importance than the characters of Léonor and Isabelle are those of Ariste and Sganarelle. Were Juan and Sancho the models for Ariste and Sganarelle, rather than Micio and Demea? I think not. I have shown how Ariste's theories of education correspond to Micio's and I have pointed out also that Ariste's attitude is that of a guardian rather than a fiancé. Ariste is tolerant, as are both Micio and Juan. But Ariste and Micio are tolerant in a wider sense than Juan. Juan is hardly more than a voice raised in protest against the extremes of the point of honor. When he thinks Léonor unfaithful, he refrains from taking vengeance out of pride and a sense of dignity:

¿Será lo más valeroso,
Lo más bizarro, entrar luego,
Con saña, con furia y rabia,
Feroz, turbado y soberbio,
A herir de una mujer flaca
El vil descuidado pecho,
A ensangrentar noble mano
En rendido infame cuello?

(p. 427.)

In Ariste's reaction to Léonor's supposed disloyalty, there is no hint of this attitude. Ariste is hurt at Léonor's failure to confide in him and still maintains that he has no intention of coercing her into a distasteful marriage. He does not wish to cross her or bend her to his will. Juan, on the other hand, pursues the policy of indulgence because he thinks this the best way to make Leonor conform to his wishes. Women, according to Juan, must be allowed to think themselves free to do as they please; because, if they are commanded not to do a thing, they will be sure to do it. Juan, therefore, thinks women naturally perverse. Micio's tolerance, on the other hand, springs from a faith in human nature. He sees in both Ctesipho and Aeschinus redeeming qualities. He does not, however, expect too much of them. Their escapades do not horrify him as they do Demea because Micio has a worldly attitude. Ariste holds a similar view of Léonor's frivolity. In Demea's narrowness and intolerance, Micio sees the results of his life apart from society. He attributes Demea's blindness to any point of view but his own to his ignorance of the world. Ariste reproaches Sganarelle for his "*farouche humeur, dont la sévérité, Fuit toutes les douceurs de la société.*" (vss. 13-14.) He reproves Sganarelle for his anti-social attitude not only as manifested in his treatment of Isabelle but in his refusal, for instance, to conform to fashions in dress. He thinks that a knowledge of the world is an essential element of education. Micio is obviously the source of this worldly attitude of Ariste's, of which there is nothing in Juan. Juan criticises Sancho only for his stupid blundering in his misguided precautions against being betrayed by his wife. Micio objects to Demea's lack of measure. He says of him: "*ipse est durus praeter aequomque et bonum.*" (vs. 64.) Demea is not only too hard; he is too glum and unsociable. Ariste has the same criticism to make of Sganarelle. Ariste's indulgence of Léonor springs not only from an attitude of worldly tolerance but from affection for his ward and natural generosity, as does Micio's indulgence of Aeschinus.

Throughout the Latin play, Micio's mildness and kindness are in opposition to Demea's violence and severity. Ariste and Sganarelle offer a similar contrast. M. Martinenche claims for the Spanish play a considerable debt in the matter of the character of Sganarelle:

Mendoza n'a pas seulement suggéré à Molière la meilleure partie de son intrigue. Il lui a fourni plus d'un trait pour la peinture de ses deux frères. Don Sancho peut se reconnaître dans Sganarelle. Sa rudesse sèche et entêtée se manifeste par les mêmes goûts et parfois par les mêmes expressions. Ecoutez-le railler don Juan: "Muy de lo hermano mayor os portáis." Ne croirait-on pas entendre Sganarelle: "Monsieur, mon frère aîné, car Dieu merci vous l'êtes." Lorsque Valère se présente à Sganarelle il est accueilli avec la même brusquerie que don Diego trouve chez don Sancho. Et quand il le traite de "bizarre fou" il ne fait guère que traduire l'épithète espagnole de "majadero." Ne demandez pas plus à don Sancho qu'à Sganarelle de goûter les modes nouvelles. Il ne voit dans la toilette qu'une dangereuse importunité. Peu lui importe, d'ailleurs, le jugement qu'on portera sur lui. Qu'on l'appelle sot ou cruel ou grossier ou fou, il consent à mériter toutes ces épithètes, pourvu qu'il ne soit pas ce qu'il pourrait être. Sganarelle dira avec autant de brutalité: "Enfin la chair est faible, et j'entends tous les bruits, je ne veux point porter de cornes, si je puis."³²

³²*Op. cit.*, p. 114.

There is a closer resemblance between this speech of Sancho's to which Martinenche refers and one that occurs in *L'Ecole des femmes*:

Don Sancho	Chrysalde
será	C'est un étrange fait,
Que por necio me tendrá,	qu'avec tant de lumières
Por villano, por grosero,	Vous vous effarouchiez tou-
Por torpe, por desabrido,	jours sur ces matières,
Por cruel, por insufrible,	Qu'en cela vous mettiez le
Por extraño, por terrible,	souverain bonheur,
Por loco, por atrevido.	Et ne conceviez point au
Pues perdone mi mujer,	monde d'autre honneur,
Y cuantos se cansen dello;	Etre avare, brutal, fourbe,
Que todo eso quiero sello,	méchant et lâche,
Y no lo que puedo ser. ³³	N'est rien, à votre avis,
	auprès de cette tache;
	Et de quelque façon qu'on
	puisse avoir vécu,
	On est homme d'honneur
	quand on n'est point
	cocu. ³⁴

³³*El marido hace mujer*, p. 423.

³⁴*L'Ecole des femmes*, "Oeuvres, (Grands Ecrivains de la France ed., Paris), III, 246, vss. 1228-1235.

That Sganarelle owes something to Sancho cannot be denied. Like Sancho he twits his brother about his age.³⁵ He is brusque and rude to the amiable Valère as Sancho is brusque and rude to Diego. But Demea also is no example of amiability. When he begins practicing politeness in Act VI, he remarks that he has already used three phrases that are not natural to him. (vss. 884-885.) Like Sancho, Sganarelle takes an uncharitable and malicious delight in the apparent failure of his brother's policy and thinks this failure merited. Like Sancho he is obsessed with the fear of being betrayed by his wife. But this trait he has in common with the earlier Sganarelle of *le Cocu imaginaire*; and the idea is not stressed in the discussion between Ariste and Sganarelle as it is in those between Juan and Sancho. Like Demea, Sganarelle is gullible. He is taken in by Isabelle's feigned esteem of him and of his theories as Demea is deceived by Syrus's hypocritical flattery. Like Demea Sganarelle is choleric and always flying into a rage. Like Demea Sganarelle lives in the country. He proposes to take Isabelle away from the corruption of the city, as Demea tries to keep Ctesipho on the farm and out of the way of the temptations of the city. Molière suggests another motive than fear of betrayal for Sganarelle's determination to impose a sober and frugal life on Isabelle. His delight at the edict limiting expenditure on clothes arises from avarice, since he says:

Les peines des maris ne seront pas si grandes,
Et les femmes auront un frein à leurs demandes.
(vss. 535-536.)

Micio suspects a similar motive behind Demea's despair at the escapades of Aeschinus. (vss. 833-834.) Like Demea Sganarelle is anti-social but Sganarelle's anti-social attitude is expressed not only in his narrowness and intolerance but in his refusal to follow the fashions of the day. Sganarelle is a typical Moliéresque character, "un de ces passionés aveuglés à

³⁵Molière's following Mendoza in making one brother much older than the other is difficult to understand. He could hardly have thought that age brings reason and tolerance. M. Abel Lefranc has suggested an autobiographical explanation that is not altogether convincing. M. Michaut discards the subjective theory interpreting it to mean that Molière wrote the play to persuade Armande to marry him despite the great difference in their ages. This theory becomes more plausible, it seems to me, if we assume that Molière wished to convince not Armande, but himself, to silence his own fears as to the outcome of such a marriage. He was merely expressing his desire, unconsciously even, it is possible, that such a marriage should prove happy.

For Lefranc's theory and Michaut's comment, see Michaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-131.

l'égard de leurs extravagances."³⁶ Demea also belongs to this type. He is incapable of measure in anything. Micio describes him as hard past measure and right: "ipse est durus praeter aequomque et bonum." (vs. 64.) Micio accuses him also of an egotistic blindness to any other point of view than his own and attributes this egotism to his lack of knowledge of the world. (vss. 98-99.) There is one point, however, in which Sganarelle apparently departs from both Sancho and Demea. When he discovers that all his plans have gone awry and that his system has failed utterly, he does not admit any fault either in his theories or in himself. He blames the perversity and ingratitude of women:

Non, je ne puis sortir de mon étonnement;
 Cette déloyauté confond mon jugement;
 Et je ne pense pas que Satan en personne
 Puisse être si méchant qu'une telle friponne.
 J'aurais pour elle au feu mis la main que voilà:
 Malheureux qui se fie à femme après cela!
 La meilleure est toujours en malice féconde;
 C'est un sexe engendré pour damner tout le monde.
 J'y renonce à jamais, à ce sexe trompeur,
 Et je le donne tout au diable de bon cœur.

(vss. 1101-1110.)

Sancho, although he says he could never act otherwise than he has done, admits that he was wrong:

Yo conozco
 Mi horror, mi engaño; mas ser
 Marido en paz no es posible;
 Siempre haré lo mismo.

(p. 436.)

Sganarelle is incapable of self-criticism such as this. The effect on Demea of the collapse of his belief that Ctesipho is living the frugal and abstemious life which he wants him to live is difficult to interpret. The ending of Terence's play has given rise to much discussion. Wolff, among others, thinks that Demea is metamorphosed into a generous advocate of freedom.³⁷ If Wolff is right, then Sganarelle departs radically from Demea in this respect. Wolff's opinion and that of other critics to the contrary, however, I think there is abundant evidence in the text of the *Adelphoe* that Demea's

³⁶P. Despine, *La science du coeur humain ou la psychologie des sentiments et des passions d'après les oeuvres de Molière*, (Paris: 1884), p. 34.

³⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 487.

conversion is not genuine. To be sure, he announces his intention henceforth to pursue Micio's course of complaisance and mildness. (vss. 859–860.) But he does so in a spirit of bitterness towards Micio and resentment at the ingratitude of his sons, who love Micio because of his indulgence and who shun him, Demea, who has, as he believes, their best interests at heart. That his avarice remains with him is evident from the first. He realizes what the cost of his policy will be, he says, but since he is the oldest of the four, it will affect him least: “Deerit: id mea minume re fert, qui sum natu maxumus.” (vs. 881.)³⁸ But he does not spend his own money, after all. It is Micio's purse that suffers from Demea's sudden generosity. First he has Pamphila and her family brought to Micio's house. His motive he reveals in the following speech: “Fratrī aedes fient peruiāe, turbam domum Adducet, sumptu ammittet multa: quid mea?” (vss. 912–913.) He then persuades Micio to marry Sostrata, the mother of Pamphila, and to give a farm to her kinsman, Hegio, and to free Syrus and his wife. That he is merely trying to demonstrate the fallacy of Micio's theories and to take vengeance on Micio for having won the affection of his sons is obvious from the fact that he quotes ironically Micio's own words: “‘uitium commune omniumst, Quod nimium ad rem in senecta attenti sumus,’” (vss. 953–954.) and that he says, in an aside, that he is cutting Micio's throat with his own sword. (vs. 958.) Even this change of front, however, assumed in order to punish Micio, is soon thrown off and the old Demea reappears. He admits to Micio that his sudden amiability and generosity have as their purpose to show Micio that what Aeschinus and Ctesipho consider his good nature does not spring from sincerity or from justice and goodness but from complaisance and indulgence. Generosity he points to as a fault:

Dicam tibi:

Vt. id ostenderem, quod te isti facilem et festiuom putant
Id non fieri ex uera uita neque adeo ex aequo et bono,
Sed ex adsentando, indulgendo et largiendo, Micio.

(vss. 985–988.)³⁹

Certainly his reasoning is muddled enough to show his folly. But Terence's intention is plainly revealed in the verses that follow. Demea then turns to Aeschinus and tells him that if his, Demea's, life is odious to Aeschinus

³⁸Donatus makes the following comment on this verse:

“Uide remanere in Demea non penitus eiectam severitatem.” *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁹On the word *largiendo*, Donatus has the following comment:

“Attendendum est indulgentiam a Demea culpaē ascribi denuo.” *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

and Ctesipho because he refuses to fall in with their wishes or to indulge their every caprice, he washes his hands of them. Let them squander as they please and indulge every whim. At this point Demea repeats his conduct of Act I and he uses somewhat similar words. In Act I he says to Micio:

si tibi istuc placet,
Profundat perdat pereat, nil ad me attinet.
(vss. 133-134.)

In Act VI he says:

"Missa facio: ecfundite, emite, facite quod uobis lubet."
(vs. 991.)⁴⁰

Demea continues that he is ready to reprove, correct, and advise Aeschinus and Ctesipho when they need him, implying that he still believes in his superior wisdom:

Sed si id uoltis potius, quae uos propter adulescentiam
Minus uidetis, magis impense cupitis, consulitis parum,
Haec reprehendere et corrigere et secundare in loco:
Ecce me, qui id faciam uobis.⁴¹
(vss. 992-995.)

Thus Demea, in the end, as in the beginning, is convinced of his rightness. His failure with Ctesipho merely aroused resentment at his son's lack of appreciation and jealousy of Micio's place in the boys' affections. Sganarelle not only resembles Demea, in his blindness to his mistakes, but his last misogynic speech has in it something of Demea's scorn for the youths who love Micio because of his indulgence and who are not grateful for his, Demea's, efforts for their moral good. Even if my interpretation of Demea's character is not the correct one—and the evidence seems to me to be in its favor—it is likely that it was Molière's interpretation, since it is Donatus's and Molière knew Donatus. It is fairly certain then that Sganarelle owes to Demea his outstanding trait of ineradicable belief in the rightness of his own narrow attitude and complete blindness to his mistakes even in the face of an overwhelming demonstration of the ineffectiveness of his system.

The relation of the characters of Molière's play to those of his two sources may be summed up in the following table:

⁴⁰Of this verse Donatus says: "Prope rediit rursus ad amaritudinem pristinam." *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁴¹Donatus remarks of verse 992: "Hic ostendit Terentius magis Demeam simulasse mutatos mores quam mutavisse." *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

CORRESPONDING CHARACTERS IN THE ADELPHOE,
L'ECOLE DES MARIS, AND EL MARIDO HACE MUJER⁴²

ADELPHOE

L'ECOLE

EL MARIDO

<i>Demea</i> {	stingy choleric narrow intolerant anti-social incorrigible	<i>Sganarelle</i> {	stingy choleric brusque intolerant narrow anti-social incorrigible obsessed with fear of being a cuckold malicious	<i>Sancho</i> {	brusque intolerant obsessed with the fear of being a cuckold malicious
<i>Micio</i> {	mild tolerant generous worldly indulgent believes in goodness of human nature believes in trusting to children's honor	<i>Ariste</i> {	mild tolerant generous indulgent worldly believes in trusting in honor and affection of children	<i>Juan</i> {	tolerant opposed to the extremes of the point of honor believes trust best policy in dealing with women
<i>Aeschinus</i> {	frivolous unselfish loyal	<i>Léonor</i> {	frivolous loyal	<i>Leonor</i> {	at first in love with Diego and planning to de- ceive Juan, her husband. Later loyal.
<i>Ctesipho</i> {	weak no initia- tive	<i>Isabelle</i> {	rusée determined to outwit Sgana- relle, not through a vin- dictive spirit but because she loves Valère	<i>Juana</i> {	at first aus- tere and severe in her attitude towards mar- riage. Later vindictive takes vengeance on Sancho by meeting Diego, whom she does not love

⁴²Molière owes nothing in the delineation of his characters to Larivey. Only one scene of his play corresponds to *les Esprits* and I have shown that he took this scene

In composing *l'Ecole des maris*, Molière has so blended material from the *Adelphoe* and *El marido hace mujer* that it has been difficult to sift out and to disentangle the two influences: but it is obvious that each play contributed different elements. Neither the Latin nor the Spanish influence can be dismissed as insignificant. The nature of Molière's borrowings from Terence indicates that, in constructing his play, he must have had the *Adelphoe* before him: while the reminiscences of the Spanish play are such as might have been contributed by a play merely seen, not necessarily read and studied. *El marido* probably suggested the possibility of substituting two young women for Terence's two young men, a change which enabled Molière to use the intrigue of *la Femme industrielle* in his second act and to bring again to the stage the comical Sganarelle with his obsessing fear of wearing horns. He makes the young women the wards instead of the brides of his two brothers because he is using the theme of Terence's play, rather than that of Mendoza's. The *Adelphoe* contributed the major thesis, that tolerance and indulgence and an attitude of trust rather than suspicion and tyranny should be practiced in dealing with young people. The Spanish play furnished the minor theme that tyranny begets in women the desire to sin, the principal theme of *El marido*, which Molière has properly subordinated to the main thesis of his play by transferring it from the *raisonneur* to the *soubrette*. He has, moreover, avoided illustrating this thesis in his denouement. To have followed the theme to such a conclusion as Mendoza's play offers, would have been to do violence to Molière's conception of character and to Terence's. It would have been too flagrant a violation of the rule of consistency. *El marido hace mujer* may have furnished also the secondary theme that "a woman guarded is half won," a theme which Molière again transfers from a principal to a servant.

Since Act I is an exposition of the policy of indulgence and trust as opposed to that of severity and suspicion, Act I follows Terence more closely than Act III. It is likely that Molière used Act I of the *Adelphoe* as a framework for the construction of his own first act, altering the words where the altered situation demanded it, modernizing Demecus's anti-social attitude by introducing Sganarelle's satire of contemporaneous fashions in

from Terence and not from Larivey. Those qualities in Hilaire which correspond to Ariste's traits are also those of Micio and Molière took them from Micio. Severin, who corresponds to Demecus and to Sganarelle, has nothing in common with either. He is described as being "envieux, ypocrite, superbe, nonchalant, mensonger, larron, sans foy, sans loy, sans honte, sans amour, bref, un monstre engendré des vices et de la sottise." P. 220.

dress, and adding two incidents patterned after the Spanish play. Although Act III follows *El marido* in the details of the denouement, it is not constructed independently of Terence. Two points of resemblance are of particular significance. Ariste, even in the wholly different situation, corresponds exactly to Micio. Micio reproaches Aeschinus, not for the betrayal of Pamphila, but for failing to confide in him, Micio. Ariste makes a similar reproach to Léonor. Sganarelle's reaction to Isabelle's successful ruse is analagous to Demea's reaction to the revelation of Ctesipho's guilt.

Sganarelle, in fact, resembles Demea perhaps more closely than Sancho. He is a more farcical character than Demea, and he gets his fear of betrayal, perhaps, from Sancho and certainly his malignity as evinced in his twitting Ariste about his age and in his uncharitable delight at the apparent failure of Ariste's policy towards Léonor. But his violence, his anti-social attitude, his glumness, and, above all, his incorrigibility, his blindness to his own faults and mistakes, are from Demea. Ariste's mildness, his worldly attitude, his generosity, are all found in Micio. Léonor has some traits in common with Aeschinus. Isabelle is Molière's own creation. She resembles only slightly the Isabelle of Dorimond's play and Juana of the Spanish play.

The Spanish influence in *l'Ecole des maris* is extraneous and superficial. *El marido hace mujer* presents a conception of character to which Molière did not subscribe and a much narrower theme than that of *l'Ecole des maris*. The Latin influence is the more fundamental and organic, since Molière took from the *Adelphoe* the philosophy and the conception of character expressed in *l'Ecole des maris*. His consistent following of Terence in the presentation of Ariste and Sganarelle suggests a general kinship with Terence in the conception of character. The analogy between Molière's theories of comedy as a *genre* and of comic character and those which commentators formulated from the plays of Terence, I shall study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

Donatus and Molière's Theory of Drama

It is a commonplace of criticism to say that Molière, representing the *irréguliers* in the theory of the drama, cast overboard all the rules, relying solely on *le bon sens* for guidance in the composition of his comedies. Even this cavalier attitude towards the sacred rules, however, has been traced to its source; and to Lope de Vega has gone the credit for Molière's emancipation from the pseudo-Aristotelian tyranny. Molière is, indeed, in accord with Lope in his belief that the rule of rules is to please the public. He makes Dorante say in *la Critique de l'Ecole des femmes*:

Vous êtes de plaisantes gens avec vos règles dont vous embarrassez les ignorants, et nous étourdissez tous les jours. Il semble, à vous ouïr parler, que ces règles de l'art soient les plus grands mystères du monde; et cependant ce ne sont que quelques observations aisées, que le bon sens a faites sur ce qui peut ôter le plaisir que l'on prend à ces sortes de poèmes; et le même bon sens qui a fait autrefois ces observations les fait aisément tous les jours, sans le secours d'Horace et d'Aristote. Je voudrais bien savoir si la grande règle de toutes les règles n'est pas de plaire, et si une pièce de théâtre qui a attrapé son but n'a pas suivi un bon chemin. Veut-on que tout un public s'abuse sur ces sortes de choses, et que chacun n'y soit pas juge du plaisir qu'il y prend?¹

Guillaume Huszar has pointed out the similarity of this and other passages of the *Critique* to Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*.

Voilà comme s'exprime Molière par la bouche de Dorante (Scène V, p. 359); voici ce que dit Lope à la fin de son *Nouvel Art*:

Sustento en fin lo que escrivi y conozco
Que, aunque fuera mejor de otra manera,
No tuvieran el gusto que han tenido:
Porque a vezes lo que es contra lo justo
Por la misma razon deleyta el gusto.

On voit que Lope et Molière donnent la même valeur et la même place aux règles dans l'art dramatique. Dans les détails même de leurs théories poétiques, on constate des accords qu'il serait difficile d'attribuer au pur hasard. Molière n'a-t-il pas pu lire en même temps que les comedias de Lope, son *Nouvel Art*? Qu'on se reporte aux paroles que nous avons citées: il s'agit "du but à atteindre par la vraie comédie" qui est

¹*Oeuvres*, Hachette edition, III, 357-358.

Imitar las acciones de los hombres
Y pintar de aquel siglo las costumbres.²

The passage from Molière, isolated from the context, would seem to prove Huszar's assertion, at least that Molière was in accord with Lope. It is doubtful, however, whether this attitude of Molière can be justifiably attributed to Lope rather than to Molière's French predecessors, such as Hardy, for instance, who says: "Tout ce qu'approuve l'usage et qui plaît au goût public devient plus que légitime."³

In fact, we need look no further back than Corneille to find a precedent for Molière's attitude toward the rules. Although Corneille finally bows to the rules, he does so reluctantly:

Bien que, selon Aristote, le seul but de la poésie dramatique soit de plaire aux spectateurs, et que la plupart de ces poèmes leur ayant plu, je veux bien avouer toutefois que beaucoup d'entre eux n'ont pas atteint le but de l'art. Il ne faut pas prétendre, dit ce philosophe, que ce genre de poésie nous donne toute sorte de plaisir, mais seulement celui qui lui est propre, et pour le donner aux spectateurs, il faut suivre les préceptes de l'art, et leur plaire selon les règles.⁴

He makes elsewhere, however, but slight concessions to the rules:

Cependant mon avis est celui de Térence: puisque nous faisons des poèmes pour être représentés, notre premier but doit être de plaire à la cour et au peuple, et d'attirer un grand nombre à leurs représentations. Il faut, *s'il se peut*, y ajouter les règles, *afin de ne déplaire pas aux savants et recevoir un applaudissement universel*; mais surtout gagnons la voix publique; autrement notre pièce aura beau être régulière.⁵

So even adherence to the rules is an attempt to please the public, that part of the public which insists on the rules, that is, the savants. And the savants are after all only an inconsiderable part of the public. The author must first of all please the public at large; then, if possible, gain the approval of the savants to boot, in order to have the suffrages of all his public!

"Laissons-nous aller de bonne foi aux choses qui nous prennent par les entrailles, et ne cherchons point de raisonnements pour nous empêcher

²Molière et l'Espagne (Paris, 1907), pp. 128 ff.

³Quoted by Charles Arnaud in *Les Théories dramatiques du XVIIe siècle, Etude sur la vie et les oeuvres de l'Abbé d'Aubignac* (Paris, 1888), p. 133.

⁴"Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique," *Oeuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux (Paris, 1862), I, 13.

⁵"Epître dédicatoire de la Suivante," *Oeuvres*, II, 119.

d'avoir du plaisir,"⁶ says Molière. Is not Corneille saying the same thing in different words when he maintains that "les règles ne sont que des adresses pour en faciliter les moyens (*i.e.*, les moyens de plaire), et non pas des raisons qui puissent persuader aux spectateurs qu'une chose soit agréable quand elle leur déplaît"?⁷

Compare the following remark of Molière:

Veut-on que tout un public s'abuse sur ces sortes de choses, et que chacun ne soit pas juge du plaisir qu'il y prend?

. . . et cependant ce ne sont que quelques observations aisées, que le bon sens a faites sur ce qui peut ôter le plaisir que l'on prend à ces sortes de choses.⁸

Is not this exactly the same thing as Corneille's "les règles ne sont que des adresses pour en faciliter les moyens" (*i.e.*, les moyens de plaire)?

Both Corneille and Molière insist that the chief aim of dramatic poetry is to please the public. Corneille would please according to the rules, if possible, but he maintains that a play cannot please the public merely by being regular. They both insist that the spectator must be his own judge of what pleases him.

Corneille cites Terence as his authority for making it his first rule to please the public. He is referring to the prologue of the *Andria*, where Terence says:

Poeta quom primum animum ad scribendum adpult,
Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.⁹

Corneille and Molière look upon the rules as a means of pleasing the public and both have some regard for the judgment of their public. Lope, on the other hand, reluctantly renounces the rules in order to please a public whose taste he scorns:

Verdad es que yo he escrito algunas vezes
Siguiendo el arte que conocen pocos,
Mas, luego que salir por otra parte
Veo los monstruos, de apariencias llenos,
Adonde acude el vulgo y las mugeres
Que este triste exercicio canonizan
A aquel habito barbaro me buelvo,
Y quando he de escribir una comedia,

⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁷"Epître dédicatoire de *Médée*," *Oeuvres*, II, 332.

⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 358.

⁹*Comoediae*, ed. Dziatzko (Leipzig, 1884), verses 1-3.

Encierro los preceptos con seis llaves,
 Saco a Terencio y Plauto de mi estudio,
 Para que no me den voces, que suele
 Dar gritos la verdad en libros mudos,
 Y escrivo por el arte que inventaron
 Los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron;
 Porque, como los paga el vulgo, es justo
 Hablarle en necio para darle gusto.¹⁰

Molière admits no such conflict between the rules and the taste of his audience. Dorante maintains that *l'Ecole des femmes* has not violated a single rule, a statement that is startling from one who supposedly scorns rules:

Mais avec cela, je soutiens qu'elle (la pièce) ne pèche contre aucune des règles dont vous parlez. Je les ai lues, Dieu merci, autant qu'un autre; et je ferois voir aisément que peut-être n'avons-nous point de pièce au théâtre plus régulière que celle-là.¹¹

What rules does Molière have in mind? Certainly not the pseudo-Aristotelian rules of tragedy that his generation was seeking to impose on comedy. *La Critique* is first a defense of comedy as a *genre*. Six years before *la Critique* was presented, l'Abbé d'Aubignac had treated comedy rather slightly.¹² It is more than likely that the abbé's ideas were being discussed in the salons at the time of the appearance of *l'Ecole des femmes*. D'Aubignac's scorn is the culmination of a growing neglect of the *genre* by theorists, a neglect which may correspond to the increasing prestige of Aristotle, who has very little to say of comedy. If Molière is to invoke rules in justification of his comedy—and we have seen that Dorante asserts that he knows the rules and that *l'Ecole des femmes* sins against none of them—where is Molière likely to turn for his authority? Although comedy has gained considerably in popularity during the decade 1650 to 1660¹³ and the public has shown a taste for a more realistic imitation of "nature," contemporary theorists either denounce comedy or accord it only brief and perfunctory mention. If we except Mairet's preface¹⁴ to his *Silvanire*,

¹⁰"Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo," *Bulletin Hispanique*, III, verses 33–48.

¹¹Molière, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

¹²F. Hédelin, abbé d'Aubignac, *La Pratique du théâtre*, ed. Martino, Paris, 1927. This treatise was first published in 1657.

¹³Mr. Colbert Searles has pointed out the fact that more comedies were produced between 1651 and 1660 than tragedies. "The First Six Decades of French Seventeenth Century Comedy," *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1925), 153–165.

¹⁴"Preface, en forme de discours poétique," published with *Silvanire* (Paris, 1631).

in which he discusses the rules of comedy as applied to the pastoral, but is chiefly concerned with the unities, we must go back to the end of the sixteenth century for any serious discussion of the *genre*. Even these discussions are meager, but, such as they are, they owe much to Donatus's treatise on comedy. The *Commentary on Terence* ascribed to Donatus together with the two short treatises appearing in Wessner's edition of the *Commentary*¹⁵ under the titles *Evanthius De Fabula* and *Excerpta de comoedia* accompanied the text of Terence's plays in many of the early editions,¹⁶ usually under the title *De Tragoedia ac (et) comoedia*.

Let us examine the *Critique* as a defense of comedy and as an apology for *l'Ecole des femmes*, and compare Dorante's arguments with Donatus's treatment of the same questions in the *De Comoedia* and the *De Fabula* and in the *Commentary*.

The *Critique* consists of a conversation between three ladies, a marquis, a courtier, and a poet, on the subject of Molière's recent success, *l'Ecole des femmes*. Two of the ladies defend the play, while a third, Climène, attacks it. The poet, Lysidas, is the champion of the Aristotelian rules. Dorante is Molière's mouthpiece.

Lysidas's attack is directed first at comedy as a *genre*. He laments the popularity of comedy and expresses disdain for the *genre*:

Mais enfin, sans choquer l'amitié que monsieur le chevalier témoigne pour l'auteur, on m'avouera que ces sortes de comédies ne sont pas proprement des comédies, et qu'il y a une grande différence de toutes ces bagatelles à la beauté des pièces sérieuses. Cependant tout le monde donne là-dedans au-jourd'hui: on ne court plus qu'à cela, et l'on voit une solitude effroyable aux grands ouvrages, lorsque des sottises ont tout Paris. Je vous avoue que le coeur m'en saigne quelquefois; et cela est honteux pour la France.¹⁷

Dorante replies:

Vous croyez, donc, monsieur Lysidas, que tout l'esprit et toute la beauté sont dans les poèmes sérieux, et que les pièces comiques sont des niaiseries qui ne méritent aucune louange?¹⁸

Lysidas voices the sentiments of the theorists who are taking a desperate stand against the public. Mr. Searles has shown that comedy increased

¹⁵Aeli Donati quod fertur *Commentum Terenti* (Leipzig, 1902-5).

¹⁶See P. Terentii Afri poetae tepidissimi *Comoediae omnes cum absolutis commentariis Aelii Donati* (Venice: J. M. Bonnellum, 1558).

P. Terentii *Comoediae sex tum ex Donati commentariis* (Paris: R. Stephanus, 1536).

¹⁷*Op. cit.*, Sc. VI, p. 349.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 351.

in popularity during the decade from 1650 to 1660, indeed that more comedies than tragedies were produced.¹⁹

This scorn for comedy has been apparent in the *arts poétiques* since Laudun d'Aigaliers, who accords no more than a few *clichés* to the subject. Jules de la Mesnardière is more positive:

La Deuxième des espèces de notre Poème Dramatique est la simple comédie, fort recherchée autrefois par la populace de Grèce et par celle d'Italie, et même encore approuvée par des nations fort sérieuses, bien qu'elle n'ait rien de grave, ni de tragique.²⁰

In 1657 l'Abbé d'Aubignac published *La Pratique du théâtre*, in which he expresses contempt for the *genre*. Compare D'Aubignac and Lysidas, page 102.

C'est pour cela (*because tragedy represents noble sentiments and heroic passions*) même que nous voyons dans la Cour de France les Tragédies mieux reçues que les Comédies, et que parmi le petit Peuple les Comédies, et même les Farces et vilaines bouffonneries de nos théâtres sont tenues plus divertissantes que les Tragédies. Dans ce Royaume les personnes, ou de naissance, ou nourries parmi les Grands, ne s'entretiennent que de sentiments généreux et ne se portent qu'à de hauts desseins ou par les mouvements de la vertu, ou par les emportements de l'ambition; de sorte que leur vie a beaucoup de rapport aux représentations du Théâtre Tragique. . . . Mais la populace élevée dans la fange et entretenuë de sentiments et de discours des-honnêtes, se trouve fort disposée à recevoir pour bonnes, les méchantes bouffonneries de nos farces et prend toujours plaisir d'y voir les images de ce qu'elle a accoustumé de dire et de faire.²¹

For D'Aubignac comedy is a *genre* hardly worthy of the French public of the seventeenth century. Tragedy, on the other hand, faithfully reflects the life of the spectators. Molière's defense of comedy is based on the contention that comedy alone paints real life while tragedy departs from life and follows only the imagination of the author. René Bray has shown that, despite the change in taste of the public, the theorists still cling to an idealistic interpretation of "nature":

Bien que les formules de l'imitation de la nature se retrouvent à peu près identiques d'un bout à l'autre du siècle, la notion de nature tend à se rétrécir vers 1660 et ne s'applique plus pour l'école de Boileau qu'à la vérité moyenne et quotidienne.²²

¹⁹See note 13, page 101.

²⁰*Poétique* (Paris, 1640), p. 7.

²¹*Op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

²²*La Formation de la doctrine classique en France* (Paris, 1927), p. 148.

Cette notion du naturel est très vaste; elle s'applique aux caractères de la tragédie ou de l'épopée comme au style de l'épigramme. Elle exprime la conformité de l'oeuvre d'art à un modèle idéal qu'on appelle conventionnellement la nature.²³

Il (le naturel) écarte le laid, la laideur morale encore plus que la laideur matérielle. Il n'imité que le beau, et encore une beauté conventionnelle, conforme à son goût étroit. Il laisse de côté la nature pittoresque, le monde extérieur. Il s'attache à la nature humaine surtout. Nous avons pu reconnaître que vers 1660 le goût se modifiait, qu'on tendait à moins de convention, à plus de vérité dans la conception de la nature, modèle de l'art.

Mais dans la théorie tout au moins, l'évolution est peu sensible. Avec l'apparence du naturalisme, l'art classique est tout entier un pur idéalisme.²⁴

Clearly it is not to this ideal conception of nature that Molière refers, since he draws so sharply the distinction between comedy and tragedy. In the minds of the theorists of this decade, all art was an imitation of nature, but of a highly idealized and conventionalized nature. Where did Molière get his notion that the faithful representation of everyday life was the particular province of comedy and that tragedy departed so far from nature?

Donatus insists that comedy must reproduce manners and not depart from life. He does not explicitly state that this realism distinguishes comedy from tragedy but he is defining comedy and he reiterates this characteristic. The passages dealing with the subject are as follows:

"Cum in fictis argumentis fidem veritatis assequeretur."²⁵

"tum illud est admirandum quod et morem retinuit ut comoediam scriberet et temperavit affectum, ne in tragoediam transiliret."²⁶

"consuetudini congrua."²⁷

"comoediam esse Cicero ait imitationem uitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem veritatis."²⁸

"sub imitatione uitae atque morum similitudine compositum est."²⁹

aitque (Livius Andronicus) esse comoediam cotidianae uitae speculum, nec iniuria, nam ut intenti speculo veritatis linimenta facile per imaginem colligimus, ita lectione comoediae imitationem uitae consuetudinisque non aegerrime animaduertimus.³⁰

²³*Ibid.*, p. 143.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 158.

²⁵*Commentum Terenti*, Evanthius, III-4.

²⁶*Ibid.*, Evanthius, III-5.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Evanthius, II-6.

²⁸*Ibid.*, De Comoedia, V-1.

²⁹*Ibid.*, De Comoedia, V-3.

³⁰*Ibid.*, De Comoedia, V-5.

The importance accorded by Donatus to the idea that comedy must reproduce life faithfully is indicated by the fact that for him this requirement took precedence over all others. He excuses Terence for violating the rule of propriety on the grounds that he is truthfully depicting life:

tum personarum leges circa habitum, aetatem, officium, partes agendi nemo diligentius a Terentio custodiuit. quin etiam solus ausus est, cum in fictis argumentis fidem ueritatis assequeretur, etiam contra praescripta comica meretrices interdum non malas introducere, quibus tamen et causa, cur bonae sint, et uoluptas per ipsum non deficit.³¹

In all the dramatic criticism of the Renaissance and later are found echoes of these phrases of Donatus, but they are no longer applied to comedy alone and comedy and tragedy are distinguished on other grounds. With Peletier du Mans comedy is a mirror of life *because* the characters are plebeian:

"La Comédie a été dite par Live Andronique, le premier Ecrivain de Comédies Latines, le miroir de la vie; *parce qu'an* ele s'introduisent personnes populaires."³²

Ronsard applies "mirouers de la vie" to tragedy and comedy alike.³³

Vauquelin de la Fresnaye uses the phrase to describe the epic:

"C'est un tableau du monde, un miroir qui rapporte
Les gestes des mortels en différente sorte."³⁴

There is still another faint echo of Donatus's *speculum vitae* in Mairet's preface to *Silvanire*:

"De sorte que la tragédie est comme le miroir de la fragilité des choses humaines."³⁵ As late as 1658, however, we find Donatus's phrases again applied to comedy:

Qu'est-ce que le Poëme Epique, sinon une parfaite imitation des actions généreuses des grands Héros? La Comédie, qu'un miroir des moeurs du temps, qu'une image de la vérité, et en un mot qu'une belle et excellente imitation de la vie?³⁶

³¹*Ibid.*, Evanthius, III-4.

³²*Art Poétique* (Lyon, 1555), p. 70.

³³Préface to *Franciade*, vol. III, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Laumonier (Paris, 1914-1919), VII, 79.

³⁴*Art Poétique*, ed. Pelissier (Paris, 1885), p. 26.

³⁵Ed. Otto (Bamberg, 1890), p. 14.

³⁶G. Colletet, *Discours de l'éloquence et de l'imitation des Anciens* (Paris, 1658), p. 18.

Nicolo Secchi, in the prologue to *l'Interesse*, a play which Molière imitated in *le Dépit amoureux*, defines comedy as a portrayal of everyday life and stresses this point

But Colletet is not concerned with comedy and says no more than this. Moreover, the adjectives "belle" and "excellente" with which he qualifies Donatus's "imitation of life" betray a preoccupation with "la belle nature."

For d'Aubignac tragedy is an image of life as well as comedy:

Le Theatre estant peu à peu et par degrez monté à sa dernière perfection, devint enfin (a) l'Image sensible et mouvante de toute la vie humaine. (b) Or comme il y a trois sortes de Vies, celle des Grands dans la Cour des Roys, celle des Bourgeois dans les Villes, et celle des gens de la Campagne; le Theatre aussi a receu trois genres de Poëmes Dramatiques qui portent en particulier le caractere de chacune de ces trois sortes de Vies, sçavoir la *Tragédie*, la *Comédie*, et la *Satyre* ou *Pastorale*.³⁷

By the time we reach Corneille, the terms used by Donatus have become synonymous with the Aristotelian term *imitation* and are applied to all *genres*.

Comedy and tragedy are distinguished on other grounds. Donatus devotes one paragraph to these other distinctions between the two *genres*:

inter tragoediam autem et comoediam cum multa tum inprimis hoc distat, quod in comoedia mediocres fortunae hominum, parvi impetus periculorum laetique sunt exitus actionum, at in tragoedia omnia contra, ingentes personae, magni timores, exitus funesti habentur; et illic prima turbulenta, tranquilla ultima, in tragoedia contrario ordine res aguntur; tum quod in tragoedia fugienda uita, in comoedia capessenda exprimitur; postremo quod omnis comoedia de fictis est argumentis, tragoedia saepe de historia fide petitur.³⁸

We can trace in the dramatic criticism that follows increasing emphasis on these distinctions to the neglect of the *speculum cotidianae vitae* idea so important for Donatus. Perhaps the shift is due to the growing prestige of Aristotle. Peletier considers rank of character, outcome, and style the distinguishing characteristics:

Car au lieu des Personnes Comiques, qui sont de basse condition; au la Tragedie s'introduisent Rois, Princes & grans signeurs. Et au lieu qu'au la

in his differentiation of comedy and tragedy. He also applies the word *specchio* to comedy alone; but he emphasizes the moral purpose of the *genre*: "Nella qual Comedia, riguardandosi l'huomo quasi come in un specchio, può, se è di brutto animo, farsi bello, et se è di bello animo, farsi molto più bello." See Molière, *Oeuvres*, ed. Moland, III, 57-58.

³⁷D'Aubignac, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁸*Op. cit.*, Evanthius, IV-2.

Comedie les choses ont joyeuse issue an la Tragedie, la fin et tousjours luctueuse et lamentable, ou horrible à voer.³⁹

La Comedie parle facilement e comme nous avons dit, populerement. La Tragedie est sublime, capable de grandes matières tant principales que dependantes; an somme ne differant rien de l'Euvre Heroique quant aus personnes.⁴⁰

For J. C. Scaliger tragedy is patterned after real life, but it differs from comedy in the rank of the characters, in the nature of the action, in the outcome and in the style:

Tragoedia, sicut et Comoedia, in exemplis humanae vitae conformata, tribus ab illa differt, Personarum conditione, fortunarum negotiorumque qualitate, exitu. Quare stylo quoque differat necesse est. In illa e pagis sumpti Chremetis, Davi, Thaides loco humili: Initia turbatuscula: fines laeti. Sermo de medio sumptus. In Tragoedia Reges, Principes, ex urbibus arcibus, castris. Principia sedatiora; exitus horribiles. Oratio gravior, culta, a vulgi dictatione aversa, tota facies anxia, metus, minae, exilia, mortes.⁴¹

D'Aigaliers distinguishes the two *genres* on the basis of subject matter and rank of characters, although he does quote Donatus as his authority:

Comédie et un genre de poème, comme tesmoigne Donat en sa préface sur Térence, auquel sont introduictes personnes viles et de bas estat, pource que la comédie se représente en public, ainsi que la tragédie.⁴²

Vauquelin calls comedy the imitation of an evil action:

La comédie est donc une contrefaisance
D'un fait qu'on tient meschant par la commune usance.⁴³

For La Mesnardière the distinction lies in the nature of the action and in the style:

Le mot d'action (he is commenting on Aristotle's definition of tragedy) *complète* et celui de *grande importance* découvrent les qualitez que doit avoir la matière dont la Tragédie est formée et distinguent son sujet de celui de la Comédie; comme d'ailleurs ces autres mots *sérieuse* et *magnifique* séparent le stile Tragique de la diction Comique.⁴⁴

³⁹*Op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴¹*Poetices libri Septem* (Lyon, 1561), chap. VI, Bk. I, p. 11.

⁴²*Art Poétique*, ed. Joseph Dedieu (Toulouse, 1909), p. 151.

⁴³*Op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁴⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 8.

Corneille believes that tragedy and comedy are distinguished by rank of characters and especially by the nature of the action imitated, and expressly denies any difference in the manner of imitation:

La différence de ces deux espèces de poèmes ne consiste qu'en la dignité des personnages et des actions qu'ils imitent, et non pas en la façon de les imiter ni aux choses qui servent à cette imitation.⁴⁵

La comédie diffère donc en cela de la tragédie, que celle-ci veut pour son sujet une action illustre, extraordinaire, sérieuse; cella-là s'arrête à une action commune et enjouée.⁴⁶

For Molière the faithful representation of life distinguished comedy from tragedy, which was not bound by any law of reality. In his careful observation of everyday life lies the superiority of the writer of comedies. Molière undertakes (in the person of Dorante) a defense of comedy based on the contention that comedy alone paints men as they are and requires painstaking observation of contemporary life while tragedy is remote from life, representing men as the imagination of the author sees them, not as they really are. In the following passages he expresses his theory:

Car enfin, je trouve qu'il est bien plus aisé de *se guinder* sur de grands sentiments, de braver en vers la Fortune, accuser les Destins, et dire des injures aux Dieux, que d'entrer comme il faut dans le ridicule des hommes et de rendre agréablement sur le théâtre les défauts de tout le monde.⁴⁷ (Italics are mine.)

Lorsque vous peignez des héros, vous faites ce que vous voulez. Ce sont des portraits à plaisir, où *l'on ne cherche point de ressemblance*; et vous n'avez qu'à suivre les traits d'une *imagination qui se donne l'essor* et qui souvent laisse le vrai pour attraper le merveilleux. Mais lorsque vous peignez les hommes, il faut peindre d'après nature.⁴⁸ (Italics are mine.)

Notice the resemblance of these passages to the following from Donatus in which he praises Terence for those qualities which Molière values most:

tum illud est admirandum, quod et morem retinuit, ut comoediam scriberet, et temperavit affectum, ne in tragoediam transiliret. illud quoque inter Terentianas uirtutes mirabile, quod eius fabulae eo sunt temperamento, ut neque extumescant ad tragicam celsitudinem neque abiciantur ad mimicam uilitatem.⁴⁹ (Italics are mine.)

⁴⁵"Du Poème dramatique," *Oeuvres*, I, 22.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁷*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, p. 351.

⁴⁸*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, pp. 351-352.

⁴⁹*Op. cit.*, Evanthius, III-5.

From what I have said, it is evident that until Molière the trend of criticism had been in general to neglect comedy, sometimes to scorn it, to claim for tragedy as much fidelity to life, and to distinguish the two *genres* on various other bases. Molière opposes to this tendency a defense of comedy based on the contention that comedy alone imitates life faithfully. It is likely that he is following Donatus in his insistence on the fact that comedy is a mirror of everyday life.

Besides his criticism of comedy in general, Lysidas offers several objections to *l'Ecole des femmes* in particular. First, there is no action.

Car enfin le nom de poème dramatique vient d'un mot grec qui signifie agir, pour montrer que la nature de ce poème consiste dans l'action; et dans cette comédie-ci il ne passe point d'actions et tout consiste en des récits que vient faire ou Agnès ou Horace.⁵⁰

Lysidas is echoing Aristotle, but he is also expressing the taste of his contemporaries. Neither the practice of Terence nor Donatus's theories would demand that comedy be filled with intrigue.⁵¹ Scaliger is the first theorist to define comedy as a dramatic poem filled with intrigue and full of action.

"Comœdia igitur sic definiamus nos. poema dramaticum, *negotiosum*, exitu laeto, stylo populari."⁵²

Mr. Searles has traced the increasing popularity of comedy of intrigue and has shown how this tendency to emphasize plot influenced the theories of Corneille, who lays great stress on "*les fourbes et les intrigues*." In the *Examen* of *le Menteur*, he no longer prides himself on "*ce stile familier*" but on ingeniousness of plot. Mr. Searles says "From *le Menteur* to Molière this plot complication is an outstanding feature of comedy."⁵³

The theory of the period also demands action in comedy. Lysidas's words are those of the abbé d'Aubignac:

"Ce poème est nommé Drama, c'est à dire, Action, et non pas Récit."⁵⁴ D'Aubignac is speaking of tragedy, but he considers the récit even more out of place in comedy than in tragedy:

⁵⁰*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, p. 361.

⁵¹Donatus classifies comedies as follows: "*comœdiae autem motoriae sunt aut statariae aut mixtae. Motoriae tubulentae, statariae quietiores, mixtae ex utroque actu consistentes*" (Evanthius, IV-4). Although his classification of Terence's plays under these headings leaves us baffled as to the exact meaning of his terms, we may assume, I think, that he recognizes a type of comedy without much action.

⁵²*Op. cit.*, Bk. I, chap. V, p. 11.

⁵³*Op. cit.* p. 161.

⁵⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 282.

Car la comédie, dont les Personnages sont tous gens du commun, agissant avec peu de gravité et peu capables des beaux sentiments, est beaucoup plus dans les actions, que dans les discours; il y faut peu d'éloquence et beaucoup d'intrigues.⁵⁵

Again, then, on the question of action, Molière opposes the tendency of his time. Dorante defends Molière on the grounds that all the *réçits* are really action since they are related in all innocence to the person whom the events recounted most concern.

Lysidas objects also to the character of Arnolphe:

Arnolphe ne donne-t-il pas trop librement son argent à Horace? Et puisque c'est le personnage ridicule de la pièce, falloit-il lui faire faire l'action d'un honnête homme?⁵⁶

Ce monseieur de la Souche, enfin, qu'on nous fait un homme d'esprit, et qui paroît si sérieux en tant d'endroits, ne descend-il point dans quelque chose de trop comique et de trop outré au cinquième acte, lorsqu'il explique à Agnès la violence de son amour, avec ces roulements d'yeux extravagants, ces soupirs ridicules et ces larmes niaises qui font rire tout le monde?⁵⁷

Implicit in the first of these objections are three ideas of current dramatic theory: the Aristotelian definition of comedy as an imitation of wicked characters, the idea of poetic justice, and the rule of propriety. The idea of poetic justice is not Aristotelian but has crept into the *arts poétiques* of the seventeenth century. The increasing emphasis on this rule may be traced in Corneille's prefaces. In the *épître dédicatoire* of *la Suite du Menteur*, he indicates that "*la récompense des bonnes actions et la punition des mauvaises*" is considered an inviolable maxim, although he does not believe in it.⁵⁸

In the *Discours du poème dramatique* he has apparently been won over to the rule:

En effet, il est certain que nous ne saurions voir un honnête homme sur notre théâtre sans lui souhaiter de la prospérité, et nous fâcher de ses infortunes. Cela fait que quand il en demeure accablé nous sortons avec chagrin et remportons une espèce d'indignation contre l'auteur et les acteurs.⁵⁹

C'est cet intérêt qu'on aime à prendre pour les vertueux qui a obligé d'en venir à cette autre manière de finir le poème dramatique par la punition

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p. 285.

⁵⁶*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, p. 362.

⁵⁷*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, p. 363.

⁵⁸*Oeuvres*, IV, 282.

⁵⁹*Oeuvres*, I, 21.

des mauvaises actions et la récompense des bonnes, qui n'est pas un précepte de l'art mais un usage que nous avons embrassé dont chacun peut se départir à ses périls.⁶⁰

D'Aubignac makes poetic justice the first and most important rule of drama:

La principale règle du Poeme Dramatique est que les vertus y soient toujours récompensées ou pour le moins toujours louées, malgré les outrages de la fortune, et que les vices soient toujours punis, ou pour le moins, toujours en horreur.⁶¹

The third rule violated, that of propriety, or fidelity to type, is perhaps the most important. The *mœurs* of each type were rigidly delimited. Scaliger says:

"Personarum distinctiones in Comoedia sunt a conditione, a professione, ab officio, ab aetate, a sexu."⁶²

In the seventeenth century theorists are more explicit. La Mesnardière states the rule of propriety thus:

Pour la propriété des mœurs le poète doit considérer qu'il ne faut jamais introduire sans nécessité absolue, ni une Fille vaillante, ni une Femme Sçavante, ni un valet judicieux.⁶³

Corneille, in the *Examen de la Suivante*, gives us an idea of how narrowly and explicitly the characteristics of each type were dictated by the rules:

On peut douter s'il ne sort point (Géraste) du caractère des vieillards, en ce qu'étant naturellement avarés, ils considèrent le bien plus que toute autre chose dans les mariages de leurs enfants, et que celui-ci donne assez libéralement sa fille à Florame, malgré son peu de Fortune.⁶⁴

Dorante defends Molière's departure from the rule thus: "Il n'est pas incompatible qu'une personne soit ridicule en de certaines choses, et honnête homme en d'autres."⁶⁵

He is again invoking the observation of nature to justify Molière's violation of the rule. In exactly the same way, Donatus defends Terence for violating the same rule:

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹*Op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

⁶²*Op. cit.*, Bk. I, chap. XIII.

⁶³*Op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁶⁴*Oeuvres*, II, 121.

⁶⁵*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, p. 365

tum personarum leges circa habitum, aetatem, officium, partes agendi nemo diligentius a Terentio custodiuit, quin etiam solus ausus est, cum in fictis argumentis fidem ueritatis assequeretur, etiam contra praescripta comica meretrices interdum non malas introducere . . .⁶⁶

In the commentary on the *Eunuchus*, moreover, he expresses a conception of character strikingly like Dorante's defense of Arnolphe:

Et hoc miles ut sapiens locutus est, ergo meminisse conuenit ridiculas personas non omnino stultas et excordes induci a poetis comicis, nam nulla delectatio est, ubi omnino qui deluditur nihil sapit.⁶⁷

Lysidas's second objection to the character is based on the rule of consistency, or *égalité*. Arnolphe, a serious, intelligent, middle-aged man, betrays a ridiculous violence in his love scene with Agnes. Donatus emphasizes this rule of consistency. In Steinmann's compilation of the *scholia* on Terence under the headings of "*De mutatione morum*" and "*De constantia morum*," it is evident that Donatus is trying to explain away all apparent changes of character. But the rule, according to Donatus, does not apply to character under stress of great emotion. Steinmann generalizes thus: "Non autem lex de morum constantia data ad personas affectibus motas pertinet."⁶⁸

He quotes several comments like the following: "non hoc personae attribuendum est, sed affectui."⁶⁹

Dorante replies to Lysidas thus:

Et quand au transport amoureux du cinquième acte, qu'on accuse d'être trop outré et trop comique, je voudrais bien savoir, si ce n'est pas faire la satire des amants, et si les honnêtes gens mêmes, et les plus sérieux, en de pareilles occasions ne font pas des choses . . .⁷⁰

Again in the commentary on the *Eunuchus* Donatus similarly defends Terence: "non solent stulti induci adulescentes et ideo ad amorem transtulit stultitiam Phaedriae."⁷¹

Another point which has little bearing upon Molière's theory of comedy, but which may indicate his familiarity with Donatus, is his use of the same terms as Donatus for the parts of comedy. Lysidas protests that the play

⁶⁶*Op. cit.*, Evanthius, III-4.

⁶⁷*Op. cit.*, *Eunuchus*, 446, 2.

⁶⁸Hermann Steinmann, *De artis poeticae veteris parte quae est περὶ ἥρωων* (Göttingen, 1907), p. 63.

⁶⁹Donatus, *op. cit.*, *Eunuchus*, 320.

⁷⁰*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, p. 366.

⁷¹*Op. cit.*, *Eunuchus*, 226, 2.

does not conform to the three divisions of comedy, the "*protase*," the "*épitase*," and the "*péripétie*."

Obviously, Molière puts these terms into Lysidas's mouth to take a thrust at the critics and the theorists. There is no reason to suppose that either Molière or his contemporaries actually used these terms for the parts of comedy. He would be likely to choose rare and erudite Greek terms in order to ridicule the pedantry of the dramatic critics. The significant fact is his use of Donatus's terms. When Corneille employed the same device to ridicule the theorists, he used Aristotelian terms and one term from Scaliger, a name coined by Scaliger for a division of comedy apparently original with him and not adopted by his followers. The passage from Corneille is a variant of the *Suite du Menteur*. Dorante and Cliton are discussing the possibility of presenting a play based on their adventures:

Clit: Mais peut-on l'ajuster dans les vingt et quatre heures?

Dor: Qu'importe?

Clit: A mon avis, ce sont bien les meilleures;

Car, grâce au bon Dieu, nous nous y connaissons;

Les poètes au parterre en font tant de leçons

Et là cette science est si bien éclaircie,

Que nous savons que c'est que de péripétie,

Catastase, épisode, unité, dénouement,

Et quand nous en parlons, nous parlons congrûment,

Donc, en termes de l'art, je crains que votre histoire

Soit peu juste au théâtre, et la preuve est notoire:

Si le sujet est rare, il est irrégulier;

Car vous êtes le seul qu'on y voit marier.⁷²

Catastase is the term taken from Scaliger. *Episode* is an Aristotelian term used later by Corneille in *Du poème dramatique*.

Molière certainly ridiculed the theorists in the same way when he made Lysidas say:

"Quoi, monsieur, la *protase*, l'*épitase*, la *péripétie*."⁷³ It is significant that, while following Corneille's *procédé*, Molière turns to Donatus for the terms *protase* and *épitase*. Donatus divides the plot of comedy into three parts as follows:

"comoedia per quattuor partes diuiditur: (four parts including the prologue) prologum, protasin, epitasin, catastrophem."⁷⁴

⁷²*Oeuvres*, IV, 388.

⁷³*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, 360.

⁷⁴*Op. cit.*, Evanthius, IV-5.

These terms are defined in the *De Fabula* and again in the *Excerpta de comoedia*. *De Fabula* gives the following definitions:

protasis primus actus initiumque est dramatis: epitasis incrementum processusque turbarum ac totius, ut ita dixerim, nodus erroris; catastrophe conuersio rerum ad iucundos exitus patefacta cunctis cognitione gestorum.⁷⁵

De comoedia defines the terms thus:

πρωτασις est primus actus fabulae, quo pars argumenti explicatur, pars reticetur ad populi expectationem tenedam: ἐπιτασις involutio argumenti, cuius elegantia conecitur: καταστροφή explicatio fabulae, per quam eventus eius approbatur.⁷⁶

Peletier follows Donatus:

La Comédie a troes parties principales, sans le Prologue. La première ét la proposicion du fét, au premier Acte; laquelle ét appelée des Grez Protasie. La seconde ét l'avancement ou progres, que les Grez disent Epitasie. Cét quand les aferes tombent an difficulté, e autre peur e esperance. La tierce, ét la Catastrophe, soudeine conversion des choses au mieux.⁷⁷

Scaliger uses the same terms but adds one division:

Comoediae igitur partes, aliae primariae, aliae accessoriae, aliae attinentes. Verae et primariae sunt quattuor, protasis, epitasis, catastasis, catastrophe.⁷⁸

Scaliger defines these terms as follows:

Protasis est, in qua proponitur et narratur summa rei sine declaratione exitus, ita enim argutior est, animum semper auditoris suspensum habens ad expectationem.

Epitasis, in qua turbae aut excitantur, aut intenduntur . . .

Catastasis, est vigor, ac status fabulae, in que res miscetur in ea fortunae tempestate, in quam subducta est.

Catastrophe, conversio negotii exagitati in tranquillitatem non expectatam.⁷⁹

After Scaliger the tripartite division is followed but the Greek terms disappear. Vauquelin divides the plot of comedy into three parts besides the prologue, but he gives no names to these parts:

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶VII, 4.

⁷⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁷⁸*Op. cit.*, Bk. I, chap. IX, p. 15.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, loc., cit.

Premier la Comédie aura son beau Proëme,
 Et puis trois autres parts qui suivront tout de mesme
 La premiere sera comme un court argument:
 Qui raconte à demi le sujet brevement,
 Retient le reste à dire, afin que suspendue
 Soit l'âme de chacun par la chose attendue.
 La seconde sera comme un env'loppement,
 Un trouble-feste, un brouil de l'entier argument:
 De sorte qu'on ne sçait quelle en sera l'issue,
 Qui tout autre sera qu'on ne l'avait conceue.
 La dernière se fait comme un Renversement,
 Qui le tout débrouillant fera voir clairement
 Que chacun est content par une fin heureuse.⁸⁰

Vauquelin is following Scaliger, but he discards the Greek terms and he drops the division added by Scaliger. The Greek names reappear in Mairêt's preface to his *Silvanire*. It is obvious that Donatus was the immediate source of Mairêt's differentiation of comedy and tragedy and of his definition of the parts of comedy. He defines the three parts of comedy thus:

Prothese est le premier acte de la fable, dans lequel une partie de l'argument s'explique, et l'autre ne se dit pas, afin de retenir l'attention des auditeurs.

Epithase est la partie de la fable la plus turbulente, où l'on voit paroistre toutes ces difficultez et ces intrigues qui se desmeslent à la fin, et qui proprement se peut appeller le noeud de la piece.

Catastrophe est celle qui change toute chose en joye, et qui donne l'esclaircissement de tous les accidents qui sont arrivez sur la Scène.⁸¹

Donatus's terms were probably not in current use, however, when Molière wrote the *Critique*. Neither la Mesnardière nor d'Aubignac uses them. Corneille follows Aristotle in *Du Poëme dramatique*. For *protase* he substitutes *prologue*, which he applies to an integral part of the plot. *Episode* replaces *epitasis*, and *exode*, *catastrophe*.

"Ainsi pour les appliquer (i.e., Aristotle's terms) à notre usage, le prologue est notre premier acte, l'épisode fait les trois suivants, l'exode, le dernier."⁸² The two latter terms correspond to Aristotle's *complication* and *unraveling*.

⁸⁰*Op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁸¹*Op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁸²*Oeuvres*, I, 41.

In his prefaces, however, Corneille twice uses the term *protase* in the sense of exposition, once in discussing a comedy, *la Suivante*,⁸³ and once in discussing a tragedy, *Horace*.⁸⁴ He never uses *epitasis*, but always *noeud* as does D'Aubignac. Dorante's reply to Lysidas, indeed, would indicate that *exposition*, *noeud*, and *dénouement* were the current terms:

Dorante: Ah! monsieur Lysidas, vous nous assommez avec vos grands mots. Ne paraissez point si savant, de grâce! Humanisez votre discours, et parlez pour être entendu. Pensez-vous qu'un nom grec donne plus de poids à vos raisons? Et ne trouveriez-vous pas qu'il fût aussi beau de dire, l'exposition du sujet, que la protase; le noeud, que l'épîtase; et le dénouement que la péripétie?⁸⁵

I can find no evidence that the terms *protase* and *épîtase* were in current use. *Péripétie*, the third term, is from Aristotle. It is used frequently but not as synonymous with *catastrophe* or *dénouement*. For La Mesnardiere, for instance, *péripétie* is one of the parts of tragedy, but he does not use the word *partie* in the sense of a division of the plot. The other parts are *la Reconnaissance* and *le Trouble*. He does say, however, that there must be only one *péripétie* in the plot of a tragedy, and his definition of the word might well be substituted for Scaliger's definition of *catastrophe*. Here is La Mesnardière's definition:

Par le mot de Péripétie, le Philosophe a voulu dire Un Evenement imprévu, qui dément les apparences, et par une Revolution qui n'était point attendue, vient changer la face des choses.⁸⁶

Compare with this definition Scaliger's definition of the *catastrophe*: "*conversio negotii exagitati in tranquillitatem non expectatam.*"⁸⁷

In both the sudden and unexpected change of the face of affairs is emphasized. The *péripétie*, however, is one event. The *catastrophe* may be a series of events. For comedy, nevertheless, especially for Molière, the *dénouement* follows in summary fashion, a sudden and unexpected event. D'Aubignac calls the *catastrophe* "*la dernière Peripetie.*"⁸⁸ I think, however, that no particular significance can be attached to Molière's use of the term *péripétie*. Lysidas uses these Greek terms and is promptly

⁸³*Ibid.*, II, 120.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, III, 278.

⁸⁵*Op. cit.*, Scene VI, p. 361.

⁸⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁸⁷*Op. cit.*, Bk. I, chap. IX, p. 15.

⁸⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 136.

Molière could have found *péripétie* used as a synonym for *dêmeslement*, or *dénouement*, in Cyrano de Bergerac's *Pédant joué*, Act V, Sc. V, p. 399.

ridiculed by Dorante for doing so. Molière simply cast about for three pedantic terms and hit upon two used by Donatus. *Catastrophe* was perhaps too common a term.⁸⁹ He therefore chose *péripétie*. The use of *protase* and *épitase*, however, indicates a familiarity with Donatus. *Epitase* was not in current use. It occurs in Donatus only in the treatise on comedy, never in the commentaries.

If Molière apparently breaks so positively with contemporary theory, we are not justified in supposing that he had no doctrine other than to follow his own devices and to strive to please the public. He maintains that *l'Ecole des femmes* violates no rules. It certainly violates the rules of his contemporaries. What authority does he invoke? His use of *protase* and *épitase* would point strongly to his familiarity with Donatus. His insistence on fidelity to every-day life as the distinguishing mark of comedy while his contemporaries were maintaining that tragedy, the epic, and comedy all imitated nature—a conventionalized and idealized "nature"—is reminiscent of Donatus's reiterations of the *imago vitae, speculum consuetudinis* idea, as the essential character of comedy. Furthermore, a similarity of phrase in Molière's distinction between comedy and tragedy and that of Donatus makes it almost certain that he was following Donatus. In his discussion of the character of Arnolphe, he defends his violation of the rule of propriety and that of consistency in almost the same words used by Donatus in defending similar violations on the part of Terence. It is probable, then, that Molière's conception of comedy as a realistic *genre* and of comic character derives from the practice of Terence as analyzed and propounded by Donatus.

⁸⁹*Catastrophe* is the only one of the Greek terms of Donatus used in the comedies written in answer to the *Critique*. *Catastrophe* is used in *Zélinde ou la véritable critique de l'Ecole des femmes* (Molière, *Oeuvres*, ed. Moland, V, 13). Both *catastrophe* and *dénouement* are used in the *Portrait du Peintre* (Ibid., pp. 53, 69). *Catastrophe* occurs in the *Panégistique* (Ibid., p. 104).

CONCLUSION

In this study I have tried to delimit anew and to re-evaluate the influence of Terence on Molière as shown in two plays in which some Terentian influence had already been admitted and in a third, in which heretofore none had been pointed out. Starting with the statement of the preface of 1682 that Molière chose Terence as the most excellent model whom he could imitate and the conclusions of later critics, in direct opposition to this statement, I have tried to determine, by a minute analysis of the plays, whether the balance tips in favor of the statement in the preface of 1682 or of the conclusions of later critics. In *les Fourberies de Scapin* I have shown that Terence contributed more in the matter of details than he is ordinarily given credit for; but the superiority of Molière's play in technique, his change of the tone of Terence's play, and the very fact that *les Fourberies* is a fantastic farce would preclude attaching any particular significance to the Terentian influence in this play. The influence of Terence in *l'Ecole des maris* is more important and far-reaching. In addition to many imitations of detail, Molière has taken from Terence the thesis of his first thesis play. His first raisonneur, who preaches a worldly philosophy of tolerance, acceptance, and measure, is modeled in every respect on Terence's Micio. Demea, moreover, is the prototype of a typical Moliéresque character, "un passionné aveuglé à l'égard de ses extravagances." Demea's inability to be converted from a persistent bias of mind is imitated in Sganarelle and may have suggested a similar blindness and narrowness in Arnolphe, for instance, of *l'Ecole des femmes*, in Harpagon of *l'Avare*, and even in the more admirable and sympathetic Alceste of *le Misanthrope*. *L'Ecole des maris*, then, suggests a kinship with Terence in Molière's attitude towards life and in his conception of character. The conclusion that his conception of character is similar to that of Terence is strengthened by the analogy between Molière's theory of comedy and that of Donatus, based on the practice of Terence. There is in Donatus a hierarchy, so to speak, of the rules similar to that revealed in Molière's *Critique de l'Ecole des femmes*. The first and most important rule, aside from that of pleasing the public, is that the comic poet depict life as he sees it rather than strive to imitate an idealized and conventionalized "nature." This rule of conformity to everyday life takes precedence over the rules of character type and of consistency. Donatus invokes fidelity to life to excuse Terence for a striking violation of the rule of conformity to type. Similarly Molière

defends a like violation in his depiction of Arnolphe. To Terence, as interpreted by Donatus, it was not incompatible that a character should be foolish or base in some respects and admirable and wise in others. Molière expresses the same idea in his defense of the character of Arnolphe, who is an *honnête homme*, generous and loyal to his friends; but, for all that, unjust and blind to his error in his treatment of Agnes, and ridiculous in his fear of being betrayed by his wife. Because he pushes his mania to ridiculous extremes, he is punished by the collapse of all his schemes, and his admirable qualities cannot save him from being a ludicrous character. This idea of the *honnête homme* as a comic character profoundly modified Molière's conception of character comedy and came to full fruition in *le Misanthrope*. Both Terence and Molière had a higher regard for the rule of consistency than for the unvarying pattern of the different types of character to which the theorists wished the dramatist to conform. But even the rule of consistency yields to the rule of conformity to life, since apparent inconsistency is tolerated in moments of great emotion.

If my examination of *les Fourberies de Scapin* in relation to its Terentian source rehabilitated only to a slight extent and in no significant respect the Terentian influence, the results of my analysis of *l'Ecole des maris* and *la Critique de l'Ecole des femmes* lead to the conclusion that the author of the preface of 1682 was more nearly accurate than later critics have been in their estimate of Terentian influence in Molière.

APPENDIX

Dorimond's *la Femme industrielle* as a Source of *l'Ecole des maris*

It is generally believed that the source of the intrigue of Act II of *l'Ecole des maris* is Dorimond's *la Femme industrielle*, a one-act play based on the third nouvelle of the third day of the *Decameron*. *La Femme industrielle* was published at Paris in 1661. The story is as follows:

A *capitan*, fearing betrayal by his wife, Isabelle, guards his honor during his absence by setting a clownish valet, Tripolin, to watch over his wife. Isabelle has fallen in love with Léandre, a young man who has never seen her. In order to elude her guardian and make known her love to Léandre, she sends for Léandre's tutor to whom she complains that Léandre passes her house daily and ogles her in an offensive manner. She begs the pedant to tell his pupil to stop passing under her window. She furthermore tells him that Léandre has by flattery insinuated himself into the good graces of the valet whom her husband has left to guard her. The tutor, completely hood-winked and delighted and astonished at finding a virtuous woman, reproves Léandre, repeating to him Isabelle's accusations. Léandre, though he has never seen Isabelle, understands her ruse. He flatters Tripolin according to her suggestion and addresses a compliment to her which Tripolin thinks is addressed to him. Isabelle then reports to the pedant that Léandre has found a crack in her door through which he has slipped a love-note and has left for her a purse containing a hundred louis. She asks the tutor to return the purse to Léandre. Léandre again takes the hint and slips a note through Isabelle's door. Isabelle reports to the pedant that Léandre, knowing that her husband is away, has climbed the wall of her garden and attempted to enter her room. Léandre, following her directions, goes to her house, climbs the wall and enters her room. He is surprised by her husband but escapes punishment by pretending that he is a ghost guarding Isabelle during the *capitan's* absence.

This crude farce is completely transformed in the second act of *l'Ecole des maris*. Molière's play is at once more convincing, more amusing, and more moral. To Dorimond Molière is indebted for the ruses by which his Isabelle communicates with Valère. Like Dorimond's Isabelle she

accuses Valère of having cast amorous glances at her. In *la Femme industrielle*, the accusation is groundless. In *l'Ecole des maris*, Molière introduces Valère in Act I and we are informed that he has been in love with Isabelle for months and has indeed tried to convey his admiration to her by his amorous glances. For the purse which Dorimond's Isabelle pretends that Léandre has sent her Molière substitutes the box which Isabelle accuses Valère of having thrown into her window and which Sganarelle returns to Valère with a note from Isabelle enclosed. The suggestion that Léandre climb the wall and enter Isabelle's room is replaced by the suggested elopement in *l'Ecole des maris*. For the incredible scene in which Léandre reads his declaration of love to Tripolin for Isabelle's benefit, Molière substitutes the scene in which Sganarelle brings Isabelle and Valère together and in which the lovers come to an understanding by an exchange of declarations à double entente, in the presence of Sganarelle. This scene was probably suggested by the similar scene in *la Femme industrielle*, although Molière may have borrowed some of the details of his scene from Lope de Vega's *La discreta enamorada*.¹ Molière has made his comedy more piquant by making the jealous fiancé himself the go-between. Molière's characters owe little to Dorimond's. As I have already pointed out in Chapter II, Isabelle is far from being the depraved and unscrupulous rusée that Dorimond's heroine is. Her duplicity is justified. Sganarelle, like the pedant, is gullible but so is Demea of the *Adelphoe*. For the tutor's delight and astonishment at Isabelle's professed virtue, Molière has substituted Sganarelle's delight at the apparent success of his precepts; and, in this point, Molière is following Terence. The *capitan*, like Sganarelle, is greatly concerned with guarding his honor. Here, then, is another possible source of Sganarelle's fear of being a cuckold, a fact which is additional proof that Sganarelle's obsession does not necessarily point to Sancho as the model for Sganarelle.

¹See Martinenche, *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*, p. 97.

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* I regret that I have been unable to consult the unpublished dissertation (Harvard) of Mr. S. G. Morley on the *Spanish Sources of Molière*.

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